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THE

LIFE AND SERVICES

OF

GENERAL LORD HARRIS, G.C.B.,

BARON OF SERINGAPATAM AND MYSORE.

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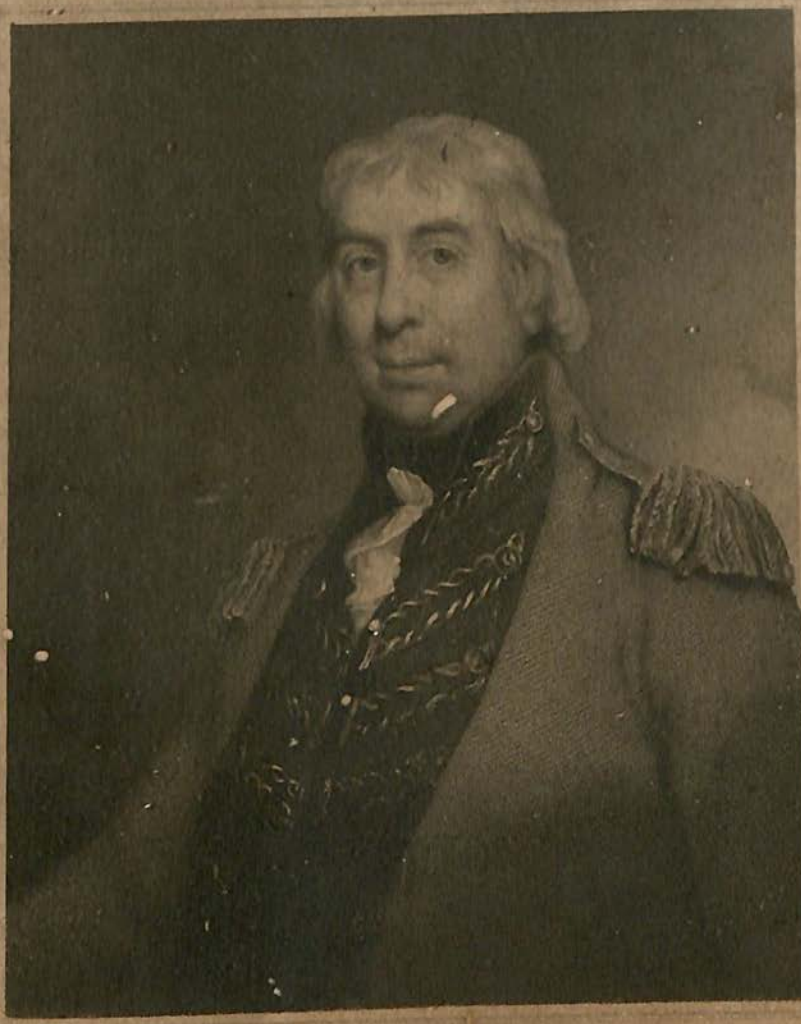

Harris

GEORGE, LORD HARRIS

THE

LIFE AND SERVICES,

OF

GENERAL LORD HARRIS, G.C.B.,

DURING

HIS CAMPAIGNS IN AMERICA, THE WEST INDIES,

AND

INDIA.

BY

THE RIGHT HON. S. R. LUSHINGTON,

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD HARRIS, AND LATE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

24329a

IT IS A FACT NOT SUFFICIENTLY KNOWN, THAT GENERAL HARRIS HIMSELF CONDUCTED THE DETAILS OF THE VICTORIOUS ARMY WHICH HE COMMANDED IN MYSORE.

DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S *Despatches.*

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XL.

Har/Luc/Life
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"Integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto viro referre injuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam quidem eâr etiam boni sæpè indulgent, ostentandâ virtute, aut per artem quæsivit: procul ab emulatione adversus collegas, procul à contentione adversus procuratores et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur."—TACITUS, *Life of Agricola.*

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TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND, K. G.,

&c., &c., &c.

My dear Lord Duke,

This Memoir of the Life and Services of Lord Harris, who received his first Commission in the Army from the kindness of the Marquis of Granby, is appropriately dedicated to your Grace, the Head of that noble House, which has derived such distinction from the military character of your illustrious ancestor.

In the varied scenes of the eventful career of Lord Harris, I persuade myself that your Grace will find something to remind you of the frankness, fortitude, and benevolence, which characterized the Marquis of Granby, and are illustrated in your own life.

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ERRATA.

Page 71, line 9, *for* Dixson, *read* Dickson.
,, 95, in the note, *for* killed, *read* killed and wounded.
,, 245, line 28, *for* enterprise, *read* enterprises.
,, 426, line 26, *for* name in any despatch, *read* name him in any despatch.
,, 452, line 23, *for* had, *read* have.
,, 456, line 11, *for* Commander, *read* Commander-in-Chief.

TO THE BINDER.

The Portrait of Lord Harris, to face the Title-page.

The Plan of the Battle of Mallavelly, to face page 522 in the Appendix.

THE

LIFE AND SERVICES

OF

GENERAL LORD HARRIS.

CHAPTER I.

Motives for undertaking this Memoir.

In the following pages I propose to lay before the reader a memoir of the life and services of the late Lord Harris. Before I went to India in 1827 it appeared to me, after an intimate knowledge of his conduct and character during thirty years, that an accurate and simple detail of his actions and motives, through a long and eventful career, might gratify and stimulate the best feelings of those who are proud to have sprung from him, and of many others who aspire to be the artificers of their own fortune and fame by honest and honourable means.

Influenced by these feelings, I often requested that he would write down the particulars of some important acts of his life, which his modesty had long restrained him from communicating even to the members of his own family. Some memoranda were accordingly found after his lamented

years with Lord Harris, and personal knowledge of the real character of Sir David Baird, acquired whilst I was in India with him, and during a long and eventful voyage in the same ship with him from Madras in 1803, afforded me ample opportunities of appreciating their many noble qualities. With this knowledge, I confidently affirm that they would have regarded the usurped laurels of any of their comrades as the most unhallowed offerings that could be laid upon their tombs, abundantly covered as they were with those gathered by their own brave hands.

In the after period of thirty years from the fall of Seringapatam, during which it pleased the Almighty to preserve their lives, I can find no unkind expression, and I know of no unfriendly act, on either side*; both descended to the tomb amidst the tears of their respective families, "with all that should accompany old age, as honour, love, obedience, troops of friends," little thinking that their ashes would be disturbed by the ill-judging hands of indiscreet relatives, or that any stranger would be employed to re-open differences which had long been amicably closed.

* Lord Harris died on the 19th of May, 1829; Sir David Baird died in August, 1829. In the year before Sir David Baird's death, he gave a narrative of what really passed in regard to Colonel Wellesley on the morning of the 6th of April, 1799, very different from Mr. Hook's statement, and it was so given by Sir David Baird, for the avowed purpose of doing justice to Lord Harris.

Taking warning from this bad example of unfounded censure of the one, and exaggerated panegyric of the other, I shall in no instance wilfully assign to General Harris a larger portion of credit than was strictly his due; and I would venture to hope that the public will receive with kindness this memorial of one who (to use his own manly and simple words in a letter to the Earl of Mornington) was "an humble clergyman's son, thrown very early in life into the army, entirely a soldier of fortune, with scarce any assistance save his own exertions," and who, in the same letter, asserts, with equal truth and justice, that "he had all his life endeavoured faithfully to do his duty to his king, his country, and those who had employed him."

CHAPTER II.

Education of Lord Harris under the care of Mr. Bull—Character of Mr. Bull—An ensigncy in the 5th regiment is given by the Marquis of Granby to Mr. Harris—Joins his regiment at Bedford, and saves the life of a brother officer—Makes a tour in France.

THE father of George Lord Harris was the youngest of seven children; his parents dying when he was very young, the care of his education and future establishment were undertaken by his maternal uncle, the Rev. Michael Bull, fifty-five years the revered rector of Brasted in Kent.

As the character of Lord Harris received its first impressions from the skilful hand and pure example of Mr. Bull, I shall transcribe the account given of this venerable man by his niece, Mrs. Dyer, a lady of considerable talents, as the extracts from her correspondence hereafter inserted will abundantly testify.

"When my eyes are closed in darkness, and the hand that now writes this is crumbled into dust, it will not be imagined that vanity had any share in prompting me to transmit to posterity, and particularly to my dear cousins (whose youth prevented that power of observing which I enjoyed), the character of our truly reverend uncle Bull, an act of justice due to him and them.

"His temper was naturally cheerful, equal, and compassionate; but he did not confine himself to pitying the distressed, his hand was always eagerly stretched out to relieve those who required his assistance.

"In his manners he retained all the politeness of the old school, without the formality which has been justly exploded. He was tall and graceful in his person, to which his dress contributed, as he never departed from the fashion of his youth, when clergymen were distinguished from the laity by their habit, as well out of as in the pulpit. The only difference in his dress was a morning gown of black stuff, damask or calamanco, over his cassock, instead of the full dress for visits, and he never wore a coat but when on horseback.

"Though learned beyond those with whom he usually conversed, his discourse was free and easy —to improve and entertain seemed his constant aim: of course, the ignorance of others was never the object of his derision. Sometimes, where he perceived an error, he would in a gentle manner endeavour to rectify the mistake, and thus gave pleasure with instruction. To his inferiors he was courteous and affable; instead of commanding, he entreated his servants, and expressed himself obliged for the performance of their duty. When he granted a favour or conferred a benefit, the obligation was increased by his pleasing manners, which, while intended to lessen, increased its value.

"He loved society, and Thursday was his day for receiving the neighbouring clergy at dinner. In the course of the year, all the farmers and tradespeople, his parishioners, with their families, dined with him in succession; and at Christmas the poor were in turn entertained in his hospitable kitchen. He was a very early riser, in winter kindling his own fire; in summer, frequently walking before his family was stirring; at eight, they met him at prayers, for the neglect of which he admitted no excuse, as he used to say, 'Prayers and provender hinder no man.' After breakfast, he either rode on horseback or walked; if the former, he usually called on some of the gentlemen or clergy within six or seven miles' distance; if the latter, often on some of his parishioners, particularly the sick and poor, whom he comforted and instructed by his kindness and advice, and occasionally relieved with alms.

"He performed the whole duty of his parish till upwards of seventy. In all the public offices of the Church, as well as in his devotions with his family, his piety was truly edifying, and the best comment on those words of the Psalmist, 'Worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.'

"He had a perfect knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, and had added whatever a long life of application could supply from the best authors who have written in those languages, as well as in English. Divinity made a

principal part of his studies, and the Scriptures were the rule of his faith, his actions, and his words.

"That he was perfectly free from the vices of avarice and ambition, the following anecdote will prove.

"At the accession of George II., his noble friend the Duke of Dorset, and the Bishop of Ossory, solicited him to let them present him to his Majesty, as a certain introduction to preferment. He thanked them for their kind intentions, which he declined accepting, saying, 'His parishioners were his children, whom he could not think of leaving. God had blessed him with the full gratification of his wishes, and, should he form new ones, he might not know where to stop, or restrain them within those bounds which, as a minister of Christ's holy religion, he thought it his duty to observe.'

"As his life had been the best preparation for death, so he expected it without any other fears than those which the Author of our being has implanted in the human heart as the foundation of the duty of self-preservation; and he lived in that constant state of waiting for his dissolution, that for some years before it happened, when I took leave of him, he used to accompany his tender farewell with expressions signifying it would probably be the last. Happy in a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man, and in the

satisfaction of having properly employed his talents, he waited patiently the hour of his release, nor repined at the rugged road that led to the mansions of eternal bliss, which his blessed spirit entered on the 27th of August, 1763, after a life of eighty-eight years, spent in imitating his Divine Master, who went about doing good."

It was under the auspices, and by the aid, of this exemplary clergyman, that Mr. Harris (the father of General Harris) was enabled to pursue his studies at Westminster and Cambridge, and subsequently enter into orders. He does not appear to have risen above the grade of curate in his sacred profession, and having married young, and become the father of a numerous family, he was for some years apprehensive that it would be difficult for him to obtain a suitable provision for his eldest son George, then at Westminster School.

In this difficulty, he recurred to a promise of providing for one of his family, which had many years before been made by Lord George Sackville, to whom, whilst at Cambridge, he had afforded protection from the hands of a notorious bully of that place. The assistance then given by Mr. Harris, who was of a remarkably powerful and active frame, and distinguished for his skill in athletic exercises, made so deep an impression on Lord George's mind, as to induce him to declare that he would never forget it. Mr. Harris applied to his Lordship, then Master-General of the Ordnance,

in behalf of his son, and the application was successful, for early in 1759 a warrant of cadet in the Royal Artillery was issued to George Harris, then about fourteen years of age; but towards the close of this year (1759), Mr. Harris died, and the battle of Minden, and consequent dismissal of Lord George Sackville from the Ordnance, again left our young soldier without a patron. Luckily for his future prospects, the new Master-General of Ordnance, the Marquis of Granby, and his brother, Lord Robert Manners, had also been fellow-collegians of Mr. Harris. A statement of his circumstances was sent to Lord Robert Manners, of the hopes excited by Lord George Sackville's generous conduct, and the disappointment of those hopes by the removal of his Lordship from office. This representation was drawn up by his cousin, Mrs. Dyer*, and sent in her aunt's name to Lord Robert Manners, who kindly forwarded it to the Marquis of Granby.

"The Marquis," says Mrs. Dyer, in her narrative addressed to her god-daughter, Mrs. Lushington, "immediately answered it with an order for the first vacant commission in the Train of Artillery for your father, who was very soon after

* Mrs. Dyer was first cousin to Lord Harris, and being fifteen years his senior in age, became almost a second mother to him. She was a person of great natural ability, cultivated mind, and pious disposition. A tablet to her memory, erected by Lord Harris in Throwley church, records his sense of their uninterrupted friendship of sixty-eight years, "from his *cradle* to her *grave*."

appointed a lieutenant fireworker. Great, you may be sure, was mine and all his friends' joy at this happy change in your father's prospects; but it was not of long duration. Forgive me for sporting with your feelings. Our first joy soon gave way to make room for greater. The Marquis of Granby, whose benevolence rendered him the idol of the army, wrote to his brother, that, as peace was expected, the battalion to which Mr. Harris belonged would probably be reduced, and therefore he gave him the offer of quitting it and accepting an ensigncy in the 5th Regiment of Foot, then in Germany." This offer was, of course, joyfully accepted by Mr. Harris, and in the spring of 1763 he joined the 5th Regiment at Bedford.

An incident, which occurred shortly after at this place, afforded an early opportunity of displaying the courage and kindness of his heart. A boating excursion on the river Ouse having been formed by one of his brother officers, young Harris was requested to be of the party. They accordingly embarked, and were proceeding down the stream when Ensign Bagot, who was standing in the stern of the boat, unfortunately lost his balance and fell headlong into the water. Being unable to swim, the young man had already sunk twice before the danger of his situation was perceived by his comrades, and he was in the most imminent peril of perishing, when Ensign Harris

plunged into the stream and swam to his assistance. The service was of the utmost danger to Mr. Harris, for the sinking officer, in the desperation of the moment, clung first to his hair and then to his arm; nor was it without the greatest difficulty and exertion that he was enabled to free himself and support Bagot to the side of the river. The banks being perpendicular, it was impossible for him to ascend them with his almost lifeless companion. He, however, contrived to keep him above water until his friends reached the spot, and succeeded in dragging him and Bagot up the bank.

The gallantry of this action naturally secured for Mr. Harris the good opinion of all who knew him: and, in particular, won for him the affection of his senior captain, one of the first officers of his time, who patronized and directed his studies, and, as he himself often declared, treated him in all things like a son. The modesty with which he received the applause bestowed for the performance of what he considered a common act of humanity, increased the good opinion which had already been formed of him.

In the year 1765, Mr. Harris obtained a lieutenancy, by purchase, and was shortly after, by the good offices of his commanding officer, Major Ross, appointed to the adjutancy of the 5th Regiment, then quartered at Waterford. The purchase of this step was not effected without

considerable difficulty, as the reader may conjecture from the account already given of our young soldier's circumstances; but he had even then commenced the practice of a system of economy and self-denial which enabled him to save something from his pay, and established habits of prudence and regularity, in money matters, from which, in after life, he derived the greatest advantage. The regiment to which he belonged did not abound in men of fortune: his cotemporaries were, for the most part, as poor as himself, and living in cheap quarters and frequently invited by the gentry of the neighbourhood, to whom his engaging and amiable manners had recommended him, his time appears to have flowed on both profitably and agreeably.

About this time Lieutenant Harris was advised by his commanding officer to apply for leave of absence from his regiment, in order that he might make a tour on the Continent, and perfect himself in French, riding, and fencing. In the following lively and characteristic letter to his cousin, Mrs. Dyer, he describes the plan and intention of his proposed tour.

"*Wexford, April*, 1767.

"My dear Coz.,

"I've a great notion this epistle will not be very long, for many reasons. In the first place, it's on affairs of state, and those you know are always hurried over, or else they could never fail

so often. You must consider what a consultation is called for! No less than whether your deary shall travel and see the world, and come home more a fool than he went. Seriously, my mother has made me an offer of paying all reasonable expenses that a trip to Paris, or any other part of France, would occasion. She mentions my going from Ireland, which, though it will prevent my seeing you six months longer than I intended, yet will be so much for my advantage that I should even give up that pleasure.

"My present plan is as follows:—I intend going to the nearest sea-port, St. Maloes, Brest, or any one to which I can find a ship going: from thence, getting up, as fast as bad hacks and bad French will allow me, to Paris, where I intend staying two or three days with my sisters. Thence go to some provincial town where there is an academy; study the language with attention till I become master of it, and, at the same time, by way of exercise, take lessons in the manège. After I have become tolerable master of the language I shall go to Paris, see everything I can there, then return with my sisters a pretty gentleman and your very humble servant,

GEORGE HARRIS."

From prudential motives the plan herein laid down appears to have been delayed till the next year, when it took place in the manner described in the following letters to the same lady:

"*September*, 1768.

"My dear Coz.,

"After tossing and tumbling for two days I have got to Boulogne, still drunk with the agitation of the waves, and, though we had *soupe maigre* for dinner, I am not yet quite recovered; every one here *bien poudré*, from the gentleman to the *garçon*. I shall, at least, learn that art*, what else I won't say. Their tongues run so fast they confuse me! The air agrees with me, and I never was in better spirits.

"I paid a visit to Miss ——, at her convent; she is very well, but, to me, a little mad. (However, I attribute her eccentric conversation to the presence of an old nun!) Is in raptures with the convent!—would not change it on any conditions,—rather change her religion!—wishes the bishop who inspects it would give her leave to stay! You are to know, after a certain age they must leave the convent she is at. What effect her brother's letters may have I don't know.

"I hope in the time I stay I may make a greater progress in the language than I had expected. The place is much better than I anticipated. It consists of two towns, the upper and

* Note by Mrs. Dyer.—"In 1768, powder was so little worn in England that Mr. Harris was surprised to see it so general in France. Now in 1794, the case is quite altered. The Convention in Paris have prohibited the use of it, while in England everybody is *bien poudré*."

the lower. In the upper are many good houses, and, as I could judge by passing, when the windows were open, elegantly furnished, much in the English taste.

"The Ursuline convent makes but a poor appearance; on the outside are small holes, with iron grates, which they call windows; but they are to protect it from the rash attempts of adventurous youths, I suppose; therefore they should be strong. I was in the cathedral, which is really very handsome, in the Gothic style; the choir elegant, with a good picture of the Virgin over the altar. I cannot now say more, as we go off very early in the morning, and I must go to bed. When I get to Paris you shall hear from me. I hope it will be very soon. Till when adieu, &c., &c. G. H."

Our young traveller's next letter is from Paris. It is addressed to the same lady, and is as follows:

"*Paris, September*, 1768.

"'Tis as well to be out of the world as out of the fashion. So as all here are in mourning for their queen, I mourn also in paper*, nought else. Now are you longing to know how I am settled, and so forth. But, with your leave, I'll first bring myself to Paris. We set out on horse back from Boulogne on Thursday morning, the coach not going till Monday. I wish you had

* It having a broad black edge.

seen us mount: you must have laughed very heartily. Conceive two great fellows astride on two beasts, not bigger than goats, with saddles and bridles that hid them, and then you see us, to appearance, walking with a great saddle between our legs. But I should not abuse them; they carried us very well; they are like their masters, all life. The first town we came to was Montreuil, eight leagues from Boulogne, between which places there is not anything worth notice but the number of crosses, erected almost on every eminence, and at the entrance of all the villages. The country is quite open, not a single hedge: and the prospect is not very pleasing, from the want of houses. There is scarce a gentleman's seat between that and Paris, though many convents, all pleasantly situated, but generally near great towns.

"*Montreuil* is fortified, and appears strong from the situation, but as we only staid to change horses, I can say nothing more of it. Our next stage was to Abbeville, ten leagues. We did not reach it till six, having very bad horses. Here we were obliged to open our baggage, but having nothing contraband, we sustained no other loss but that of time, which, to a tired traveller, is very precious. We here inquired for some means to convey our baggage to Paris, but found none farther than to Amiens; from thence a coach was to set out next day for Paris. This, you may be

sure, pleased us very much, for two reasons—going on horseback was very expensive, and, secondly, we were very much tired. In the morning we embarked our all, for you are to know we went by water—a method of travelling you are not acquainted with. It was a large covered boat, drawn by men on the banks of the river, a very tedious way, but to us very pleasant, as it rained very hard most part of the day. We had provided part of a shoulder of mutton for our stock, though here our politeness got the better of our stomachs. It being Friday, we thought eating meat might offend our fellow-travellers. Indeed, I was not in much want of it; the smell of near thirty people in so close a place is no great provocative to the appetite, but we made up for it when we came to our journey's end, for my companion, though a good Catholic, ate meat with full as much pleasure as I did. Here we found the coach, and put our portmanteaus into it, having had enough of confinement, so determined to set off on foot, which we did with the coach, but soon left it behind, which you will not be surprised at, when I tell you our carriers' wagons are full as light machines, and travel as fast. We walked four leagues to breakfast, not on washy tea, but good milk, with a little of the cordial called eau de vie in it. We again set off for the place where the coach was to stop, to dine. Our great coats began to be very heavy, so we deter-

mined to wait for the coach, and put them in. We waited two hours; they seemed very short, for I slept almost the whole time. (Walking one and twenty miles is a great help to Morpheus.) We set off again to walk four leagues, where the coach stopped that night. It was a poor village, as were all those we passed through. We saw from the road some pleasant convents, but the country is all the same, quite open. I need not tell you we slept sound. At five we got up, and found the coach had been gone three hours, with the intent that the people might go to church (it being Sunday), about three leagues off. We now wished for our great coats, as it looked very like rain, but that would not recall 'em; so away we marched, and before we got five miles had not a dry thread about us. I have described the country, so you will readily conceive we were not within sight of shelter. The first we met with was an eau de vie shop; we got a sip, and went on. Here my companion began to tire, the road being paved, which is rather unpleasant when the feet are tender. We reached our stage, and, after breakfast, found ourselves so much refreshed, we went off again in good spirits, but before we got three leagues, he was worse, so we agreed to try and get a carriage, as the coach was quite full. By great good luck, we got one, for it is not here as in England, where public chaises are plentiful; here every body travels in their own. Perhaps

you think ours was a chaise; indeed, it was drawn by two horses, and we had a postilion, but it was what in England is called a higgler's cart. We took it, however, to go seven leagues. This was the pleasantest part of the journey; the country is better, and the pheasants and partridges were feeding by the road-side without fear of disturbance. We passed the Pretender's house, and a castle belonging to the Prince of Condé, but gone to ruins; it appears to have been very grand; it is quite in the Gothic taste, and at a distance still makes a good appearance. We slept Sunday night within six miles of St. Denis, and next morning walked there. It would have been very pleasant, but a great deal of rain had fallen in the night, and made the roads very bad. We went through vineyards almost the whole way, but as the grapes were sour, it did not make up for the bad road. St. Denis is a large place, the church a very noble one, and, they say, contains great riches, but I had not an opportunity of seeing them, eleven being the hour. Near St. Denis is a barrack for young recruits, which is a very good institution; here, after enlisting, they are made to learn their duty, and then sent to any regiment that may want them, which is a much better way than ours.

"From St. Denis we took a hackney-coach, which plied as a stage to Paris, where we very soon arrived, and here am I quietly writing to you

whilst all Paris are dancing, drinking, singing, or walking. This is their way of passing Sunday evening.

"You will be glad to hear I am in good health, and trust this will find you so, for it is a blessing far beyond the golden sands of Indus or the mines of Golconda; moreover, I am as merry as any Frenchman, and that's saying a bold word. I have not time to tell you any of my adventures, as the person who brings this sets off immediately. Now I think of it, be so good as to fold your letters smaller, for as the French judge of all things by the show they make, they thought your letters must be well worth double another, so they charged accordingly. Had they known my thoughts, they might have charged ten times the sum, as I should have paid it with pleasure; but as it is possible to have the same quantity for half the price, we may as well save it.

Ever yours,

GEORGE HARRIS."

"I go on tolerably well in learning the language, and to you alone shall own I do not think my time will be thrown away, as I know, should it prove the contrary, you will endeavour to comfort instead of laughing at me, as most people would do had I made such a declaration to them. I intend to expend three guineas in dancing, which will be about four months' time, at the end of which I hope to show you, when I come back,

the best polished step of the *minuet le bien*. Will you learn?—An excellent thought; it must be so. Remember me to our uncle when you write. Tell him I have a bag big enough to put him and you in, and turn out my toes *à merveille*."

To the same Lady.

"*Paris*, 1768.

"Ma tres chère cousine, croyez moi que je vous aime de tout mon cœur. For that reason, I'll write no more in French, for I am very sure I cannot in any language express half the warmth of my love to you, particularly in one of which I know so little. I would not say it to any one but you, for fear of bringing my taste into discredit, but, really and sincerely, I am heartily tired of this famed city, and nothing but the 'world's dread laugh' has kept me here so long. I wish I was in Old England again. If people are unpolished there, they are, in general, honest.

"My progress in French is much slower than I imagined it would have been; but I hope I shall lay such a foundation, that, with reading, I may quite master it when I return. I can now understand every thing they say, and make myself understood, but it is more by action than by word. I intend being with you about the 20th of February, for though I could stay three weeks longer in France, I am resolved to remain no longer.

Adieu. Yours, &c.

G. Harris."

CHAPTER III.

Proceeds with the 5th Regiment to Ireland—Forced into a duel with his commanding officer under very extraordinary circumstances, which obtains for him the friendship of Sir William Medows.

Mr. Harris returned to England about the end of February, and, after a few weeks' stay, embarked for Ireland, where he joined his regiment at Limerick. About this time he became involved in a duel with one of his brother officers, a Captain Bell, who had at first been his dearest and most intimate friend, but, influenced by a degree of morbid sensibility, which ultimately terminated in complete derangement, had latterly conceived a most unaccountable aversion against him. An account of this transaction, which is most interesting from the light it throws on the feelings and character of General Harris, has fortunately been preserved, and is here given in his own words, written half a century after the event.

"My kind friend, the late Lord Manvers, having adverted to some circumstances respecting a duel, which had been forced on me by one who was once the most intimate friend of his brother, Sir William Medows, and I, having been requested by my son-in-law, Stephen Lushington, to relate the particulars of that event, as a means

of keeping up a communication with my children when I shall have ceased to exist, I proceed to attempt a compliance with his wish; and I trust I shall not be accused of vanity when it is known that, now past *three score years and ten*, I do not recollect ever mentioning the circumstance, save at the moment to the two young men mentioned hereafter as being in quarters, and to Lord Manvers on his questioning me about it. That it has often occurred to memory, may well be supposed, but, I trust, never without a feeling of gratitude to that all-protecting Being, who enabled me to conduct myself with such coolness in a first trial with a man who was universally respected, and, as I knew, the terror of many, from his contempt of personal danger and freedom of speech, when he saw anything incorrect going on among the officers.

"No doubt it was a most important moment in my transit through this world, for who could have foreseen that my conduct on that day should be the cause of my advancement to fame and fortune many years after? But so it was; and so strong an impression did the circumstances make on my memory, that, while any exercise of that faculty exists, they cannot be obliterated.

"Captain Bell was the captain of Grenadiers when I joined the 5th Foot at Bedford, a few days before my seventeenth birthday in 1763. He almost immediately made himself my protector

and adviser. I sat next to him at the mess, drank of his cup of wine and water,—or, perhaps, oftener the pure element, for he was the most temperate of men,—walked with him, fenced, read with him, and, in short, was seldom an hour from him through the day.

"This conduct he long continued, and made himself acquainted with my best of mothers, and so ingratiated himself with her by his praises of her son, that she did for me whatever he desired; and two years afterwards, when he was appointed to command three companies at Cashel, he made a point of having the company I then commanded as one of them, and on the march from Dublin, at Castle Dermot, where the late Sir William Medows came on a visit to him, and marched some days with us, he told him (as Sir William informed me many years after) that he would show him the finest English boy he had ever met, and boasted of me as a fond father of a favourite child. This lasted through the summer, and seldom a day passed that we did not exercise together, but more officers joining, some of them sportsmen, which I was naturally inclined to be myself, whilst he had no turn that way, he probably thought I neglected him. From this and other causes his temper became totally altered, and from all that was pleasing and fascinating he grew distant and reserved, often withdrawing himself for days together from the mess,

seldom speaking when he did attend, and then not to me. This went on for some weeks, and was making me miserable, when, on the Christmas eve, as I was enjoying myself with a family I had become acquainted with, as a sportsman, about four miles from Cashel, there came on the most violent snow storm that had been known in Ireland for many years, and continued withou intermission till daylight. Had it ceased so that I could have found my way, not all the hospitality of Ireland would have kept me to make me liable to his reproof. As it was, I was at his room door long before the morning parade, and before he was out of bed. I knocked several times at his chamber door before he would make an answer, no doubt suspecting who it was, when at last he said 'Come in.' But before I could make an apology for staying out all night, he ordered me to my room, where, he said, 'I should soon hear from him.' In about an hour he came over to my room, gave me a letter, and desired I would immediately comply with its contents. These were in the most intimidating terms and style; directing me to meet him at the abbey the moment I had provided a case of pistols, and to bring my sword, but no second. I communicated his letter to the only two officers in quarters, Hussey and Jackson. One of them, a fine spirited young man, poor Hussey, insisted he would go with me, that I should not go without some one to witness

what might pass, but this, with some difficulty, I fortunately (as matters terminated) overruled, and it was then agreed they should both go to the rock of Cashel, which overlooked the place appointed. I then got Hussey's pistols (never having had any), and joined my former friend at the place appointed, apologised for keeping him waiting, and began to request he would acquaint me why he had called me there. He answered that it was not to talk, and that there was a more retired place for the business on the other side of the wall he had been walking by; he then attempted to scramble over a breach of the wall that had been built up with loose stones, and even accepted my assistance to get over. I then again begged he would explain what could have made him call me to the place, and said that I was ready to make every apology for any offence I might unknowingly have given him, the moment I was convinced of my error. 'Sir,' he replied, 'I have told you already we are not met here to talk, so prepare yourself.' He then began to load his pistols (I believe, whistling a tune at the same time), whilst I, like some poor bird under the fascinating eye of the serpent, followed his example. When he had finished loading, he took off his coat and waistcoat, deliberately folded them together, and laid them on a broken tombstone. He then took off his sword, drew it, and laid it on his clothes; in all which I followed his

example, except that my clothes were deposited on the ground beside me. He then took up his pistols, and on my again requesting he would say in what I had offended, he gave me the same answer as before, adding that he should insist on our firing as near as possible together after presenting. On my answering 'Very well,' he asked if I was quite ready, and on my saying 'Yes,' he continued, 'Then let us both present, and fire directly.' We did instantly *present*, but he alone fired, and, I am truly grieved to say, evidently with intention to hit me. It may, indeed, be said that I escaped miraculously, for we afterwards picked one of his balls out of the wall in a line as if it had passed through me, and the other so little wide as to show that it was meant to hit. On my lowering my pistol, he instantly said, 'You have not fired.' 'No,' I replied, 'nor did I intend it, and now I hope you will be induced to inform me in what I have offended.' To this he answered, 'Sir, this will not do, and I insist on your firing at me instantly.' I attempted still to soothe him, and at last, finding it in vain, and perhaps rather irritated, I presented, and, levelling on one side, fired. He then said, 'You must give me your word of honour that you will fire as nearly as possible with me.' I would have spoken, but he would not allow me, and, asking if I was ready, on my answering 'Yes,' he called out 'Present,' and I think the sound appeared as one shot. He

stood for a few moments, and then moved towards his clothes, as I supposed to take his sword, on which I took up mine, and again begged him to tell me my offence. To this he answered, 'We shall go no further now, but you shall hear from me.' I observed that, 'If he was not satisfied, he had better reload,' as I saw he was not equal to using his sword (for he was actually trembling with weakness, and perhaps a little from anger, and certainly risking his life by coming out, as he was undergoing a violent course of mercury). He then turned towards me, and, as I thought, rather more cordially said, 'No, you shall hear from me;' and, having put on his clothes, allowed me again to help him over the wall. My comrades, seeing us walking quietly towards the barracks, took their way, and he and I soon after separated, by his proposal, that we might not be suspected.

"In the course of the evening, his servant brought me a note, which, before perusal, I flattered myself would prove of a friendly nature; but little did we know the height of madness my early patron had arrived at. The note contained an appointment for next morning, concluding with a direction to 'bring a number of balls, as one of us must fall.' My two friends now insisted that we should not meet without seconds, and I agreed to write to him to that effect, assuring him, at the same time, of my readiness to apologise, if I saw occasion to do so. He did not send any answer,

but next morning his servant came to me, and desired me to come to him. I went accordingly; and, after our first greetings, the exact nature of which I do not remember, he informed me that the direful offence I had committed was the staying out of barracks all night, without previously obtaining his leave. I observed, that 'I had not done so premeditatedly; that, had it been possible to find my way through the snow storm, I should have returned that evening, and that I came to him as soon as possible with the intention of apologising for my absence.' He asked 'If I was still willing to make a proper apology?' I answered, 'Certainly, if he still thought it necessary.' He said, 'It was highly necessary for him as commanding officer, and that he would send over a written one for me to sign, without which we could not be friends.'

"The style of the apology sent for my signature did not much meet my approbation, and still less that of my two youthful friends; but the obligations I really owed to him, and the love and reverence I had ever felt for him, together with the conviction that he would not propose what was improper, conquered, and I signed and carried it over to him. We then shook hands, and, after some little conversation, I observed that I could now convince him it was not in me willingly to give him offence. 'Why, how is that?' 'Why, sir, by the assurance that neither of my shots was

fired near you.' 'What!' he answered, 'not the last?' 'No; neither, on my honour.' He appeared much struck, and, after saying some things in his former way, wished me good morning. I returned in high glee to my quarters, heartily glad the affair was over, and never thinking of my apology, and probably never should, had it not been intimated to me that he had sent it to head quarters.

"Alas, poor fellow! he was mad, and died in confinement in London, I believe, not long after, but not without doing me ample justice when journeying to England with Sir William Medows. Thus have I faithfully stated the particulars of a transaction which made an indelible impression on my memory. Considering my youth, and utter inexperience in the ways of the world, at the time of this occurrence, I may surely be allowed to express my conviction that the hand of Providence was on me, and how deeply thankful ought I to feel for His mercy in bringing me unharmed through such a trial.

"The consequences were, the warm friendship of Sir William Medows, which ultimately led me to fame and fortune—the giving me such a confidence in myself, as to convince me that no dangers or difficulties could ever make me act in an unbecoming manner—and lastly, the enabling me to preserve a command over my passions and temper in many after scenes of trial and annoyance."

CHAPTER IV.

Purchases a company in the 5th Regiment, and proceeds on a recruiting party to England—Description of his person and character by Mrs. Dyer—His honourable conduct in a love affair—Anecdote of Sir William Medows.

From the year 1769 till 1771 Lieutenant Harris continued on duty with his regiment in Ireland; but towards the middle of the latter year he was enabled, by the assistance of his friends, to effect the purchase of a company, with which he proceeded on a recruiting tour to England*. The life of a subaltern officer on home service has little of novelty to recommend it to the attention of the general reader, and I shall rapidly pass over this portion of Captain Harris's life. To his active mind the monotony of a provincial barrack must have been unpleasing: we find him frequently expressing hopes that he would soon be sent upon foreign service; still his time does not appear to

* From the purchase of this company, Captain Harris's fortune arose; but this great object was not effected without incurring a debt of 1100*l.* to his kind mother, which, by pursuing a system of rigid and undeviating economy for many years, he was at length enabled to repay to her; but the debt of gratitude which he owed to her for this generous devotion he felt that he never could repay. An example of this kind may be useful to officers similarly circumstanced, and convince them that it is possible for the poorest and most uninfluential to rise to the highest honours of the British army. But if they would hope to do so, they must imitate Captain Harris's prudence and self-control.

have hung heavily on his hands, nor to have passed unprofitably, for a part of it was devoted to an attendance on Fergusson's *Lectures on Philosophy*, which he writes are very instructive and entertaining. "You will say I ought to commend 'em, when I tell you they cost me a guinea—one so poo[illegible]ld be a better economist."

C[illegible]n Harris was now in his twenty-sixth year, [illegible]; if the description of his affectionate relativ[illegible] Dyer, may be credited, he was one of the [illegible]st amiable young men of the time. "The vivacity of youth," she says, "sparkled in his fine eyes; the glow of health adorned his cheeks; and, to a most engaging exterior, he joined a heart replete with every manly generous feeling. His manners (which he retained to the latest period) were as prepossessing as his person —cheerful, yet free from levity; polite, without affectation; attentive, without officiousness; sincere, without roughness; and respectful, without servility."

It was natural that a person, thus gifted and embellished, should win golden opinions wherever he went; and we find, accordingly, that at most of his stations, and particularly at Derby, he formed friendships which endured till death. Nor does he appear to have been free from the influence of that more tender passion which he was so well formed to inspire and to feel. In the circle in which he moved at Derby, he met with a young

lady, whose attractions appear to have staggered those prudent resolutions which the state of his finances had dictated. Her father was a man of fortune: she a beloved child. That Captain Harris really felt the force of her charms, his letters, written at the time, plainly establish; nor does the object of his admiration appear to have been insensible to his merits. It would, perhaps, have been easy for a person of more effrontery and less principle than Captain Harris, to have gained her consent. His real circumstances were unknown; but it was not in him to act otherwise than with perfect openness and sincerity of purpose. He ventured a conversation on the subject with the aunt of the young lady, a person of sense and politeness; and, on her remarking, with many kind expressions of regard and esteem for him personally, that, under his present circumstances, it would be improper in him to urge his suit, he at once determined to be guided by her advice. The following letter, written shortly after he had formed this determination, will explain his feelings on the subject, which the reader, I think, will agree with me in considering alike honourable to his head and heart:—

"My dear Cousin,

"The fixing a resolution is a great ease to the mind. While our thoughts are wavering on any subject, quiet must be a stranger to the soul.

Though I love with as strong a love as ever man did, yet am I determined to take no further steps towards the completion of my late wishes, and for the following reasons. How they might weigh with the world in general, I cannot say—to me they appear most forcible. First, that I must injure the person I love, in point of fortune; secondly, when I consider the despicable character of a fortune-hunter, I feel another obstacle in my way: for though I am conscious how thoroughly free my heart is from mercenary motives, I know that the world will think otherwise, and I would not, for my life, expose myself to that suspicion. Again, how could I face her friends? Would they not, and with justice, compare me to the character of Captain Revel? There are few things I would not endure for her sake, could I thereby insure her happiness; but as that cannot be, is it not nobler to bear the stings and arrows of outrageous fortune, than, by injuring her I love, to end them?

"So, with a sad, sad farewell, do I give up all hopes—once too rashly formed. To forget, cannot be!

"There is, on cool reflection, such a want of generosity, in attempting to gain her affections, that whatever opportunities might be thrown in my way, I am determined to withstand the temptation. I really, from my soul, can say, that I love her too well, to wish to marry her."

In June, 1772, Captain Harris came to London —a place ill calculated to be his residence, divided, as it was, and is, between men of business, with whom he had no concern, and men of pleasure, with whom both prudence and inclination forbade him to mix. And not having resided long enough in it to become acquainted with men of character and independent fortune, who employ their time and means in a rational manner, Captain Harris would, undoubtedly, have suffered from that dreariest of all solitudes—the solitude of a vast city, had not his colonel, Lord Percy, invited him to his seat in Yorkshire, and thence to his father's, the Duke of Northumberland's, at Alnwick. From Alnwick Captain Harris accompanied Lord Percy to Kelso races, where, to use his own words, "as I flatter myself I prefer friendship to pleasure, I left his Lordship, and the bonny Scots lasses, to see a brother officer, who has lately gone on half-pay from several good motives. Regret, at not seeing merit meet with its reward—the care of an old mother, and to pay some debts, which, through his openness of disposition, he had incurred. These were his reasons; and, as I knew them, had I not gone to see him, when so near, he would have considered it a slight, and imagine that I, like the greater part of the world, only worshipped the rising star. Indeed, my dear Bess, I would not have missed going for the best ten guineas I shall ever see, and few want them more (or less) than me."

From the year 1772 till the month of May, 1774, we have no incidents of importance or interest to record in Captain Harris's career, which had hitherto been confined to his native land. But the time, so much longed for by him, of active employ in the service of his country, had at length arrived, and in the war which was about to rage in America, the wished-for opportunities of distinction were frequently presented. Previously to entering upon this subject, I consider it an act of justice to the memory of Captain Harris's dearest and most esteemed friend, General Medows, to insert the following note from that officer, which shows, in a very pleasing light, the warmth and benevolence of his nature.

"To Captain Harris, 5th Foot, Kinsale.

"*Kinsale*, 1773.

"My dear Harris,

"Every little well-timed act of generosity in Mrs. Medows is worthy the heart it comes from, and the hands she puts it in to execute. You will have pleasure in delivering the enclosed, and in hearing me say that, with the strongest attachment to the regiment in general, I have one for you in particular. Adieu; may every success attend you in this world, and may we meet in a better.

Thine, and my country's ever,

Whilst William Medows."

An anecdote is recorded in General Harris's papers, which still further illustrates the character of Sir William Medows, and shows how entirely his gallantry and spirit had gained for him the affections of those who were placed under his command. Some forces having been ordered to America, Lieutenant-Colonel Medows was appointed to a new regiment, with leave to take as many men from his old corps as chose to accompany him. Having drawn his men up on one side of a large barn, he explained to them, in a few words, the service on which he was going, and stated that he would be happy to take as many as chose to volunteer for this expedition, but that he left it entirely to their free will to act as they pleased. Then, stepping to the other side, he added, "Let all who choose to go with me, come on this side." Every one instantly followed him. Colonel Medows was so deeply affected by this convincing proof of affection on the part of his men, that he burst into tears, and with difficulty expressed his gratitude for their attachment. Such traits as these are alike honourable to officers and men, and throw the charm of social esteem and tenderness on the rugged profession of arms.

CHAPTER V.

Proceeds with his regiment to America—His first engagement with the Americans—Ordered to cover the retreat with his company—Half of the men killed and wounded.

THE 5th Regiment having unexpectedly received orders to embark for America, Captain Harris addressed the following letter to his cousin, Mrs. Dyer :—

"*Kinsale, May*, 1774.

"My dear Bess,

"How vain are the best laid schemes for mortal happiness, without the concurrence of the All-seeing Power! The very morning I had leave for two years at least, came an order for the regiment to go to Boston, every officer to attend. The transports are arrived, and we expect to be on board on Monday, if not sooner; so, most probably, ere this reaches you, your George will have been most heartily sick, and on the mend again. You shall have a copy of my journal, but I cannot promise you much entertainment.

"Comfort my old mother, as well as you can, with hopes of our speedy return. You are too good a soldier to have any fears for me: I have none for myself, but as my friends would suffer.

"Was I clear with you all in money matters, this trip would be a very pleasant one, as I flatter

myself you would have good accounts of me; and I certainly never could see the New World at a better stage of life, or ever have such an opportunity of bettering my affairs, should anything be done in consequence of this breach with the Americans.

"You would not be in love with me at this moment for my beauty, as ever since the order arrived for our going, I have scarcely had the least appetite, from the thought how unhappy my poor mother will be, and how severely she and my sisters will feel my loss in worldly affairs, should fate demand me. A perfect trust in the Father of all can alone enable me to support this idea. I doubt not that His protecting arm will again guide me to the friends I love; and then the recollection of past anxieties will add to present pleasures.

"I can hardly quit my pen, though Jonathan* is perpetually calling, 'Sir, the baggage will be too late—we shall all be left behind.' Others are also calling. So, my dear Bess, I must bid adieu: you will be my frequent consolation during the voyage. That every happiness may attend you, is my first wish: that you deserve it is certain, but patient merit is sometimes spurned, though, remember, only by the unworthy.

Yours, &c.,

G. HARRIS."

* The name of his servant.

The passage across the Atlantic to the Western World appears to have been of the usual length and character, and to have elicited no remarks from our youthful soldier. His next letter is from Boston camp, and is dated August 7th, 1774.

"By this time I fear my dear Bess has set me down as the most ungrateful of mortals. To have encountered the perils of a thousand leagues across the Atlantic, and not have told her of his safety the moment he landed, is such a violation of the laws of love and friendship, as has not occurred since the days of Æneas!

"Of course you will have heard of my sickness and sulkiness at the tediousness of the passage, &c., without my plaguing you with a narration thereof in this place. Don't you thank me that, unlike some correspondents, I keep the unpleasant part for others, and communicate only what is pleasing to you? In proof of this modest assertion (you'll say Hibernian air still infects me,) I proceed to state what I know will give you the greatest pleasure. I was yesterday pleading (and if men's countenances are an index of the mind, I flatter myself with success,) or rather telling a poor unfortunate boy, one of my recruits, how to plead, before a general court-martial, by which he was to be tried for his life. His crime was desertion, which our present situation, and the numbers who have deserted since our landing (N.B.

not one from my company of Grenadiers), makes a most serious affair, from the consequences it may lead to, should the Americans proceed to extremities, of which there is a probability.

"His being my recruit was sufficient to interest me in his favour, if he in the least deserved it, for I cannot help feeling for a man who has been deprived of his liberty through my instrumentality. To proceed, however, to that part of his history which chiefly excited my sympathy. For a woman man ventured life eternal, and for a woman this poor boy ventured his existence. My partiality to the sex, and weakness when they are concerned, made me feel more for his situation than some would have done who think less highly of 'heaven's last best gift.' In consequence I have furnished him with a defence, which will, it is thought, extricate him from this dilemma.

"Our duty is so strict, that I have not yet had an opportunity of exploring the interior of the country, so that all I can say is, that it has a most beautiful and luxuriant appearance. The entrance to the harbour, and the view of the town of Boston from it, is the most charming thing I ever saw: far superior to the harbour of Dublin, (which some consider equal to the Bay of Naples,) and having the advantage of being wooded by nature as picturesquely, as if art had superintended her operations.

"Our camp is pitched in an exceedingly pleasant situation on the gentle descent of a large common, hitherto the property of the Bostonians, and used for the purpose of grazing their cows, which now, poor creatures, from custom, often attempt to force their way into their old pastures, where the richest herbage I ever saw abounds. But from these they are now driven by stones flung at them by the different sentries. An unfortunate one, the other day, when endeavouring to effect an entrance, ran on a range of firelocks, with the bayonets on, with such force, that she wrenched the bayonet from the piece, and went off with it sticking in her body. Finding herself wounded, she made towards home, and passed close by our mess-tent, from which some of us ran out, and drew the bayonet from her with great difficulty, then ordered a serjeant to attend her home, by letting her walk slowly the way she chose. We have since had the pleasure of hearing she is likely to recover.

"August 14th, and my letter not yet finished. Indeed, Bess, a correspondence (such as ours) runs great risks of dying an early death, when one party is in Europe, and the other in this, at present, most unsociable quarter of the globe. No opportunity lately but the New York packet, and by that a letter would have little chance of reaching its destination.

"My mother has, no doubt, told you of the

loss I have sustained in my friend Lieutenant Palmer's death, which, as well as his illness, added inconceivably to the disagreeableness of the voyage. He chose me, poor fellow! to assist him in making his peace with a God he had scarce ever offended, I believe, even in thought. It is at that awful day, when all worldly views are past, when all disguise is thrown off, that we see how a man should have been admired or despised. Never did man make a better end, or (after acknowledging his weaknesses) go to meet his Saviour and his God with a greater confidence in their mercy. He had more in his favour and less against him than any man I know, and I am as convinced he is happy as that any ever shall be. Whenever we meet again (if in this world), you must indulge me in talking of him, and listening to all the accounts of his tender friendship. My dear Bess does not love me more.

"I begin to be anxious at not having received any news from England, for however small our merits, we none of us like to be neglected; and though no person is oftener guilty than I am of a breach of the laws of correspondence, few bear one so ill as I do; so I beg, Madam, that you will instantly put pen to paper, and give me a long account of all at home.

"It is now time to begin dressing, for fear I should keep Brigadier-General Pigott waiting, having the honour to be of his party to day.

Lord Percy continues his kindness and civilities towards me. Adieu! may Heaven watch and protect you, prays yours, &c.,

G. HARRIS."

It is not necessary to remind the reader in this place of the events which preceded the American war, nor of the manner in which it was commenced and conducted. The utter ignorance on the part of the English Ministry of the resources and spirit of the Colonists, explains, without justifying, the inactivity which marked the first proceedings of the British forces. It was supposed that the mere presence of the King's troops would induce the Americans to yield to all the demands that the mother-country might be pleased to impose, and that affairs would be restored to their former state of peace and tranquillity without the effusion of blood. Captain Harris shared in the general infatuation on this subject, and seems to have hoped that hostilities would be avoided; at the same time he appears to have had a natural reluctance to commence his active service in a war against a people of the same blood, language, and religion, as his forefathers. In his next letter, which is also from Boston, and is dated December 5, 1774, he writes as follows:—

"My dear Cousin,

"I had nearly finished a sheet when your pleasant epistle arrived. An April shower is not

more grateful to the feathered race than are your letters to me; and, as distance increases expectation and desire of hearing from our friends, my anxiety had been raised beyond what it formerly was in the proportion of one thousand leagues to twenty, such being the difference of the distances between England and Ireland, and England and America.

"I shall not, my dear Bess, pretend to give you any account of political matters. In my present situation it rather becomes me to execute the orders of my King and council than to give my opinion of them. With regard to private matters, I may remark that the times don't allow much opportunity for love, or, as usual, you might have expected to have heard of an American charmer. Before last Tuesday no fair one struck my imagination, but on that day I found a coffin for my heart. (Excuse the pun, when told that Coffin* is her name.) I cannot tell you more of her than that she has a remarkably soft hand, and red pouting lips. I shall not attempt to lengthen this letter, as I have to write by to-morrow night to my mother and brother, besides making love, and attending a field-day, which we have as often as possible, firing ball constantly, so we shall at least be prepared for these wrong-headed people; and I have not any doubt but that we shall make them sensible of their errors—peaceably, I hope

* A relation of Sir Isaac Coffin.

—for though I must confess I should like to try what stuff I am made of, yet I would rather the trial should be with others than these poor fellows of kindred blood. I had almost forgot to mention another part of my avocations, between this and to-morrow, in eating, drinking, and sleeping. All three, notwithstanding my immensity of love, I am as equal to as any beef-eater belonging to his Majesty. (N.B. Your letter was the saving of two toasts, as it came at breakfast-time, not to mention the tea, which was quite cold.) May every happiness attend you.

Ever yours,

G. Harris."

For three or four months after the date of the above letter, the British forces continued in the same state of confiding inactivity, whilst the Americans contented themselves with watching their encampment, and cutting off their supplies. With a view to this object, they had fortified a small mill near the British camp, and thus, in a great measure, prevented the passage of convoys. On the 19th of April a detachment was ordered to attack this post, and the 5th Regiment formed part of it under Lord Percy. The attack failed; for though the Americans had not as yet learned to face the British troops in the field, they posted themselves so skilfully in the woods and hedges by which the mill was surrounded, and fired with

such precision on the advancing party, that it was forced to retreat, with considerable loss of life. Captain Harris, then senior captain of the 5th Regiment, and captain of the Grenadiers, was ordered to cover the retreat. He was so hard pressed by the Americans, that half his company, and Lieutenant Baker, were killed or wounded. This was his first essay on actual service. The killed and wounded is sufficient evidence of the fire to which he was exposed, but it did not disturb his coolness or humanity, for in the retreat he filled his grenadier cap with water for the relief of the wounded, and when found by Lord Percy administering it to them, would fain have had him partake of the precious beverage, of which his Lordship, in after years, admired the kind intention, though he did not share in the libation.

Captain Harris's next letter alludes to this failure.

"*Boston, May* 5, 1775.

"How can I think I have nothing worth writing about? Won't my dear Bess be more pleased with hearing I am well and hearty, than with the account of all the world beside? That I am so, God alone can in his goodness account for; to Him I have, and ever ought, to return grateful thanks for such protection. The tale would last a winter's night, so, some Christmas, when we have exhausted all our gambols, you

shall have a history of our late frolic. At present, it should seem we have the worst of the fight, for, however we block up their port, the rebels certainly block up our town, and have cut off our good beef and mutton, much to the discomfiture of our mess. But, while I get sufficient to sustain life, though of the coarsest food, with two nights out of three in bed, I shall not repine, but rejoice that fortune has given me a constitution to endure fatigue, and prove that it is accident, not inclination, that has made me hitherto eat the bread of idleness. You will perceive I write in a great hurry; probably this will be finished by the side of my fortification—mine I may safely call it, as I am not only planner and director, but partly executor—as often taking the spade as telling others where to employ it, which is attended with these good effects—exercise to myself and encouragement to the men, who, you will be pleased to hear, fly to execute that for me which for others would be done with a very bad grace, because I set them a good example in not being afraid of work. When you tell my mother this, mark if an approving tear does not steal down her ancient cheek. She often said, 'George, make the men love you, but do your duty.' You know her spirit; she does not like to be laughed at, nor does her son. I had three approving generals* in favour of my work, with one of

* Gage, Pigott, Howe.

whom I dine to-morrow; that, perhaps, will be all my recompense, and, indeed, all I expect, as I act from a conviction that every officer in our present situation should not merely do his duty, but by his example encourage others to exert themselves, and give that assistance a willing mind is capable of. If my design fails, I have still the satisfaction of knowing that it was well meant.

"I have now before me one of the finest prospects your warm imagination can picture. My tent-door, about twenty yards from a piece of water, nearly a mile broad, with the country beyond most beautifully tumbled about in hills and valleys, rocks and woods, interspersed with straggling villages, with here and there a spire peeping over the trees, and the country of the most charming green that delighted eye ever gazed on. Pity these infatuated people cannot be content to enjoy such a country in peace. But, alas! this moment their advanced sentinels are in sight, and tell me they have struck the fatal blow. Where it will end, but in their destruction, I cannot see. Thank you for the pocket-pistol (the bottle and cup); would that I had had it the 19th of April, for the sake of my friends and self. Necessity obliges me to conclude, with love to all friends. Believe me, ever yours, &c.,

G. HARRIS."

In his next letter Captain Harris continues his remarks on the situation of the British forces, previous to the attack on Bunker's Hill.

"*Grenadier Camp, June* 12, 1775.

"Affairs at present wear a serious aspect. I wish the Americans may be brought to a sense of their duty. One good drubbing, which I long to give them, by way of retaliation, might have a good effect towards it. At present they are so elated by the petty advantage they gained the 19th of April, that they despise the power of Britain, who seems determined to exert herself in the conflict. Troops every day coming in, and such as will soon enable us, I hope, to take the field on the other side the Demel, alias the Neck. At present we are completely blockaded, and subsisting almost on salt provision, except such as the Americans (so strong is the old leaven of smuggling in them, about which these troubles arose) bring in to us. My garden (*à propos* to gardens, you and I will certainly have one)—what can afford the philosophic mind such food for contemplation?—with salt provisions, what can afford such food for the body? such salads? such excellent greens the young turnip-tops make? Then the spinach and radishes, with the cucumbers, beans, and peas, so promising. All within six weeks from the first turning of the soil, is really surprising. Jonathan is an excellent gardener,

though this is his first essay. I was quite Uncle Toby; to plan and to direct was my department, his to execute and improve. My house will be struck over my head, if I do not quit it, as a change of ground is to take place immediately. I only wish the movement was towards the Americans, that we might sooner bring this unpleasant business to an issue, and get home to our friends. Near three years since I left you, and but little probability that three years more will bring me back. But a soldier should not complain; and I think, Bess, that yours will be one of the last to do so. The ground is marked out. Holmes says we shall be last; so adieu. May we, to the last, preserve that friendship that has hitherto been so pleasant to both.

"Remember me to all friends.

Yours, &c.,

G. HARRIS."

CHAPTER VI.

Attack upon Bunker's Hill—Captain Harris desperately wounded in the head—Sent from the field by his lieutenant, Lord Rawdon (afterwards Marquis of Hastings)—Trepanned, and ordered home for the recovery of his health—Obtains a commission for his brother, and returns with him to America.

Five days after the date of the above, the British forces were led on to the attack of Bunker's Hill, on which the Americans had strongly intrenched themselves. The result of that day's conflict is too well known to require any detailed observation, and if it were not, it would be the province of the historian, rather than of the biographer, to describe it. It is sufficient for me to record the share which Captain Harris took in the engagement; and I am fortunately enabled to do so in his own words.

"We had made a breach in their fortifications, which I had twice mounted, encouraging the men to follow me, and was ascending a third time, when a ball grazed the top of my head, and I fell, deprived of sense and motion. My lieutenant, Lord Rawdon, caught me in his arms, and, believing me dead, endeavoured to remove me from the spot, to save my body from being trampled on. The motion, while it hurt me, restored my senses, and I articulated, 'For God's sake, let me die in peace.'

"The hope of preserving my life induced Lord Rawdon to order four soldiers to take me up, and carry me to a place of safety. Three of them were wounded while performing this office, (one afterwards died of his wounds,) but they succeeded in placing me under some trees out of the reach of the balls. A retreat having been sounded, poor Holmes* was running about, like a madman, in in search of me, and luckily came to the place where I lay just in time to prevent my being left behind; for when they brought me to the water's edge, the last boat was put off, the men calling out they 'would take no more.' On Holmes hallooing out, 'It is Captain Harris,' they put back, and took me in. I was very weak and faint, and seized with a severe shivering; our blankets had been flung away during the engagement; luckily there was one belonging to a man in the boat, in which wrapping me up, and laying me in the bottom, they conveyed me safely to my quarters.

"The surgeons did not at first apprehend danger from the contusion, notwithstanding the extreme pain I felt, which increased very much if I attempted to lie down. A worthy woman, seeing this, lent me an easy chair, but this being full of bugs, only added to my sufferings. My agonies increasing, and the surgeons observing symptoms of matter forming (which, had it fallen on the brain, must have produced instant death, or at

* The name of Captain Harris's servant.

least distraction,) performed the operation of trepanning, from which time the pain abated, and I began to recover; but before the callous was formed, they indulged me with the gratification of a singular curiosity—fixing looking-glasses so as to give me a sight of my own brain. The heat of the weather, and the scarcity of fresh provisions, added greatly to the sufferings of the wounded. As patience was the only remedy for the former, I trusted to it for relief; and for the latter, the attention of the surgeon, and a truly benevolent family in Boston, who supplied me with mutton-broth, when no money could purchase it, was a blessing for which I can never be sufficiently thankful."

The first thought that occurred to Captain Harris, after his wound was dressed, was the pain his mother and other friends would undergo, on seeing his name among the wounded, in the *Gazette.* And as he knew that it would not contain particulars, he immediately wrote a line to his mother, in such a cheerful strain, as he hoped would counteract any ill effects that might have been caused by the statements of the newspapers. He also preserved, and afterwards presented to his eldest daughter, in memorial of the owner's devoted zeal and affection, a silver button which had belonged to the grenadier who lost his life in attempting to save his captain's.

His wound being nearly healed, Captain Harris

was enabled to resume his correspondence with his cousin. His next letter is of July 24th, 1775, Boston:—

"Very unwillingly should I let this opportunity slip of telling my dear Bess that I am in a fair way perfectly to recover from the consequence of my wound: indeed, fortune seems to intend you shall have a few lines from me, as the vessel has been detained, from the date of my letter to my mother till now. When I wrote to her, my hand trembled so much, that I fear she would conclude me to be worse than I really was, but this was occasioned by weakness from lying in bed, and not by pain, from which I was relieved almost entirely as soon as the operation was performed. What I suffered before that, I alone can know! They still every day peep at my brain, which, all things considered, is not an unlucky circumstance, as it may convince you and the rest of the world that I have such a thing; and I should not regret that you, and the rest of my friends in Old England, could in the same manner take a peep at my heart. I am convinced they would find a warmth of affection they may more imagine than I can describe.

"So much for lectures on heads and hearts. Next, let me paint, in a few words, our present agreeable situation, first apologising to my dear and best of mothers for not having said more on that head, owing to weakness and restriction—

indeed, I am now rather exceeding bounds. The situation of Boston will be better explained to you by any common map, than by my description. The whole circle from Charlestown Neck to Dorchester is one continued fortification, to all appearance lined with the Americans, so that every avenue to the country is effectually shut, and not one bit of any kind of provisions do they suffer to be brought in, which obliges us to subsist on salt provisions, without even vegetables,—pleasant you may think in this hot sun. As a sick person, I am confined to broth alone. But broth of salt pork!—that's impossible. Yes, we get sometimes a piece of an old ox or cow, at the rate of fourteen times as much as we paid last summer, and from an extraordinary return of civility, one of the surgeons of the general hospital has most kindly supplied me, every two or three days, with mutton sufficient to make me an excellent mess of broth. Would not you and my mother kiss him for his kindness? at least I shall tell him so. I have heard a piece of news, that I could wish confirmed—*i. e.*, the Colonists have an answer from England to the affair of the 19th April, that you are determined to withdraw all troops from the colonies, and carry on the war by sea only. This appears the only possible way of distressing them, as we can cut off every intercourse with other nations, and by that means bring them to reason, at a much smaller expense than it can pos-

sibly be effected by land; then we shall have the pleasure of revisiting Old England once more. A circumstance that would give me great pleasure; for though I am ready with life and limb to execute the orders of my king, yet when the business can be better done, without running my head against a post, I am not one of those bloody-minded people, that wish only for revenge and slaughter. I have scribbled the paper full, and have only just room to tell you the opinion of the faculty, on the last dressing which I can have before the ship sails, and to assure you I am with the greatest truth,

Your affectionate friend,

G. HARRIS.

"P. S. Every thing about my old pate goes on as it should do."

It may probably be in the recollection of the reader, that in the letters written by Mr. Harris from France, in the year 1768, mention was made of his younger brother and fellow voyager, Thomas. I shall now resume the notice of this young man, and devote a brief portion of this narrative to his short, though honourable, career in the army. After finishing his studies in France, he returned to London, and was shortly after placed in a merchant's counting-house; where, though he met with the greatest encouragement, he was far from happy. He appears from the

first to have had a distaste for the duties of his profession, and to have eagerly wished to share the fortunes of his elder brother, to whom, as nine years senior to himself, he was accustomed to look up as to a parent, and by whom he had on all occasions been treated with the utmost love and affection. The following letter from Captain Harris to Mrs. Dyer, relates to an offer which had unexpectedly been made by Sir William Howe, of an ensigncy for his brother Thomas. It displays in a lively manner the pure and simple affection of the brothers.

"*Boston, October 8th*, 1775.

"My dearest Bess does not require that irksome attention which ladies often claim! Her love is free as air, and, from her own breast she judges of my affection. But I must acknowledge that it would be unpardonable in me to neglect any opportunity that may occur of telling her the state of my health under existing circumstances. My spirits are at present equal to anything, for my dear Tom is now, I think, in a fair way of entering a line of life in which he is fitted to excel. Courage and a generous mind I know he possesses, and I make no doubt that if we ever return, you will find him free from the rust which at present obscures his finer qualities. Hitherto his spirit has been curbed, but with me he will have a wider, and I think a more brilliant range.

"We have had great promotion going on, and if the war lasts another campaign, shall have more. My situation, not my services, entitles me to expect something from Fortune. Perhaps she may think another rap on the pate sufficient. Be that as it may,

> I'll keep, tho' in the midst of woe,
> Myself in equilibrio.

"As for politics, I know nothing about them, but judging from appearances there is reason to expect a longer war.

"I need not request you to closet Tom before he takes his departure, or to insist on his becoming your correspondent. As your godson, he has claims on your knowledge and powers of instruction. The clock has struck ten, an hour past my usual bed-time, of which my head does not approve, so adieu, my dearest and best of friends! May heaven protect you.

Ever yours,

G. HARRIS."

Previously to the arrival of this letter, Mr. T. Harris had been offered a writership to India, which he was on the point of accepting, when the intelligence forwarded by his brother, of the ensigncy promised by Sir W. Howe, induced him to decline the Indian appointment. The letter conveying this piece of information, reached England only a few days before the writer, who, greatly to the delight and astonishment of his

friends, had been prevailed on to accept a recruiting party,—his chief inducement being the hope of preventing his brother from sailing to the East. In this he was successful. The frigate on which he was allowed a passage by Captain Medows, had a speedy and prosperous voyage to England, where he had the pleasure of finding his brother and all other relatives in excellent health and spirits.

It was immediately determined that Captain Harris should be accompanied by his brother Tom, who had now received his commission as ensign, to the seat of war in America, as soon as the fleet sailed. This appears from the following letter to have been in the month of May, 1776. It is from Ensign T. Harris to Mrs. Dyer.

"*Portsmouth, May 23rd,* 1776.

"The time we have remained here idle will not admit of any excuse for not having written to you before, and I am sorry the shortness of our further stay will prevent my being so circumstantial as is your due. I believe we shall leave this place to-morrow morning, and I mean to make amends during the passage for past misconduct, by giving you a very particular account of the voyage. I have now only time to express my sense of gratitude for your love, and my ardent hopes that my conduct may be a proof of it. My spirits are rather low as the time draws

near for leaving Old England, and almost all that's dear to me. The cause I am embarked in, and the happiness I shall feel in my brother's company, will soon overcome my present melancholy. We are very happy in our mess.

"We are now going on board, our convoy is under sail, and we must follow immediately. I hope our return will be speedy, and that in the mean time, every happiness may attend you.

Ever your's affectionately,

THOMAS HARRIS."

The above letter was accompanied by one from Captain Harris, of the same date; the contents of which were as follows:—

"I have to acknowledge my dear Bess's kind present (Ossian) and kinder letter; at the same time I must give her a smart lecture for placing to my account what is entirely her own. My dear Bess is, and ever has been, the truest of friends; that I am conscious of my obligation, is my only merit; that I boast of it, is my pride, and this feeling arises not merely from justice and gratitude, but from love of the truest kind;—love, that never doubted her truth and honesty.

"In the time that she was hardest tried, suspicion of her constancy never, for a moment, arose in my breast; so what merit had I in confiding, or speaking what I thought? I would

not, to gain a kingdom, join in condemning the innocent. Nay; I thank my God, I could not have done so! To Him alone, who, by the 'continual dew of his blessing,' can aid, direct, and support us, let us be thankful! So never again, dearest Bess, thank me for my friendship! Give me but yours, and I am overpaid.

"We have fallen down to St. Helen's, and in all probability shall sail with the morning tide. A long, long adieu to Old England, and all I hold dear! May I not exclaim with the poet, 'what havoc does ambition make!' That alone takes me from you. If I am rewarded, well,—if I am not, well too. To pass through this vale of tears honestly and honourably, is perhaps all that is necessary; but to be serviceable to our friends, we must endeavour to ascend the hill of fame; I shall try my best to do so, and esteem myself lucky if I do not fail through my own neglect.

"Tom has just come into the cabin, looking a little pale, from sea-sickness; I continue well. I was a little squeamish a short time ago, but a draught of punch and crust of bread has removed every symptom, and I now consider myself secure for the remainder of the voyage.

"I shall study your present very constantly on the passage. It (Ossian) is really a book which I very much wished to have, and will, as you observe, require more than one perusal. Well, my dear Bess, heaven protect you; take

care of yourself, and do not lose that greatest of all earthly blessings, your health, by too strictly attending to your duties.

Believe me, ever yours, affectionately,

G. HARRIS."

The fleet having sailed immediately after the date of the above, no other letters were received from Captain Harris until after his arrival in America. On this voyage he kept a journal, from which we shall give such extracts as appear worthy of insertion. After the usual remarks on the monotony and dulness of shipboard to all but sailors, (a remark in the justness of which all will agree, who have ever experienced the inconveniences of a long voyage,) he proceeds as follows:—

"*Sunday, June 30th.*—After paying those outward and visible signs of respect and submission to our Maker, so absolutely necessary to the due observance of His day, I have retired to my cabin to devote a portion of my time to my dear Bess. Words, however, cannot express the fulness of my affection for her. Would that she could read the heart.

"We have now been in the latitude of the Western Isles for near a week, and yet are not certain whether we are to the east or west of them, so little progress have we made, and so little is longitude yet known. I wish, Bess, you could stumble on it! Our small circle would be parti-

cularly obliged to you for any light you could throw on this difficult subject!

"*July 2nd.*—Two more long tedious days are gone, and yet no sight of the Islands. All but the master say that we are certainly past them. Nothing can be more tedious than a long confinement on board ship! Should I once more return from America, it would be a very great inducement that takes me out again. Honour was in this case the inducement. Satisfied with having paid this tribute to her, a little would tempt me to quit the world and spend the remainder of my days in retirement.

"*July 4th.*—Is it vanity, my dear Bess, in me to think myself endued with a great share of equality of temper? or do I really possess that blessing? On reflection, I much fear my merit is suppositious, as I generally feel what others with less command of themselves, express; and I believe I should repine in as silly and womanish terms as my comrades, did not shame prevent me.

"Most heartily tired am I of the ship; indeed, the prospect is so clouded, and what I say to keep up their spirits comes so little from the heart, that all the answer is a shake of the head, as much as to say, You do not believe it. The wind is almost a-head; the day foggy, rainy, and disagreeable; the sea short, trembling, and tumultuous. But, why should I trouble you with our miseries?

"*July 5th.*—People who have not experienced the *desagrémens* of a long voyage usually conceive it an excellent opportunity for study. The case is far otherwise.

"*July 7th, Sunday.*—I hope you will not be angry when I tell you that for near an hour this morning we have been endeavouring to catch bonetas, and though without success, the exercise amused us. Perhaps you will say that there were other amusements better fitted to the day. This I readily grant you; at the same time I do not conceive it to be any great sin thus to employ a part of the time which remains after public service.

"If I err in thus thinking, be assured it is from want of judgment, not from vicious inclination. To return to the bonetas; the method of striking them is with a harpoon, an instrument which is probably familiar to you. The attitude of the harpooner is very picturesque. He generally fixes himself at the end of the sprit-sail yard, which is a sail that, by the assistance of the bowsprit, is advanced about ten yards beyond the head of the ship. He supports himself on a rope fastened to the ends of the yard, and there, standing as erect as possible, with the spear and hand elevated, ready to strike at any fish that may come near enough. He appears from the quarter-deck as if suspended between air and water, and to the eye a very agreeable figure.

"14*th*.—Such a continuance of contrary winds during the week past, that I have not had spirits sufficient to resume my journal. I can now, I am happy to say, assure my dear Bess that it is tolerably fair. This has been such a day of blessings, that it would be highly ungrateful in us not to acknowledge them with joy and gladness. Don't you think a cheerful heart the most acceptable offering to the Almighty? To lay mine in the most respectful manner before Him, I now quit my writing. * * * * * *

"That duty performed, I may record that a sailor has just caught a boneta with a flying fish of Holmes's making, of which Mr. Jonathan is not a little proud, as we never succeeded till this bait was used. The boneta resembles a salmon in shape more than any other fish I know of, though shorter and thicker in its proportions. The flesh looks coarse and hard. A flying-fish has just dropt on the deck. Poor fellow! he found the proverb taken from his species fatally verified, for he only escaped the tyrants of the deep to fall before the worse tyrant, man. The longest flight that I have seen any of them take was about twice the length of the ship, and that so near, that I expected the wind would have brought them on board.

"*July* 19*th*.—I have the pleasure to inform my dear Bess that I am just beginning to taste the beauties of her very pleasing present (*Ossian*).

Her observations respecting it I find to be perfectly just. The more I study, the more I find to admire, and the more eager am I to resume my author.

"I now divide my time between these poems and the exercise of striking fish. Exercise is conducive to health, and harpooning being of a kind that requires some little dexterity and attention, it both excites and amuses. I am not long returned from the sprit-sail yard, where I hung for an hour, to the astonishment of Tom and the other lads who did not think me young enough to venture there, but they found that I can still use my limbs with the best of them, and I flatter myself we will show them how to shuffle the brogue some six years hence when we return to Old England.

"*July 26th.*—Do not be alarmed, my dear Bess, at the last sentence, for you may rest assured that the moment honour will permit, and the care of our brother allow, I will fly on the wings of affection to embrace you all. I reckon it one of the greatest instances of my good fortune that I have always found an increase of pleasure on each return to my home. Thank God, I do not find that the love of variety tempts me to neglect familiar things, for I could with pleasure leave the busy bustle of the world, and look on it all as idle pageantry—not indeed for the 'hairy

gown and mossy cell,' but for those tranquil joys which domestic happiness confers.

"*July 28th.*—According to our calculations, we are now, supposing the present breeze to continue, within a few days' sail of land; and you may conceive how greatly my anxiety to arrive is increased when I tell you that a packet, which left Falmouth only three and twenty days ago, joined our fleet yesterday. It will certainly bring news of my dear friends. Heaven grant they may be favourable! The hardships of war will appear light and trifling when I know that you are all healthy and happy.

"*August 6th.*—A brief conclusion. I can no more. We are landed, and the packet is about to sail. Tom sends his best love."

CHAPTER VII.

Forms an ardent attachment to the lady whom he afterwards married—Traits of her character—Again engaged with the Americans—Captain Harris and Colonel Medows wounded—Sent by Lord Cornwallis with a letter to Washington—Is promoted to the majority of the 5th Regiment—Appointed to cover the embarkation of the troops, on the evacuation of Philadelphia—Becomes personally acquainted with Lord Howe, who was the last man to embark, and is commended by him for his exertions in executing that disagreeable service.

In the extracts given from this journal the reader may have observed the frequent allusions to domestic peace and happiness on which the writer dwells with so much satisfaction. These feelings may be attributed not only to Captain Harris's usual predilection for the diversions and sports of a country life, but more particularly to his having about this time conceived an ardent attachment towards a young lady of the name of Dixson, to whom he was afterwards married. In leaving England for the seat of war, he had, on this occasion, the pain of parting not only from the relatives whom he had loved from his youth up, but also from the object of a new and more engrossing affection, whose desire for retirement had no inconsiderable weight in the many attempts made by this lady's lover, in after-life, to become prema-

turely a peaceful "country swain." Nor will the reader wonder at this influence of her who was so many years his faithful and affectionate partner, in every clime where his military duty called him, when he sees that even the French Republic, although war was raging between the two countries, paid honourable tribute to Mrs. Harris's tender feelings, and her power of expressing them, notwithstanding the barbarous practice which then prevailed amongst those Republicans, of destroying all private correspondence.

With several letters from Mrs. Harris, then in Calcutta, to some of her absent children, the following envelope was sent:—

The COMMISSARY of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT in ENGLAND, to Mrs. DYER, at Richmond, in Yorkshire.

"Madam,

"The letters that I have the honour to transmit to you were found on board the vessel *Amelia*, coming from Calcutta, and were intercepted by one of our French schooners. They breathe the sweetest sentiments of nature, and as such, have been sent to me by the officers of the Admiralty, in order to forward them.

"I esteem myself infinitely happy, Madam, to have it in my power, spite of the circumstances of war, to honour maternal feelings.

"Deign to accept of the most respectful sentiments, with which I have the honour to be, Madam,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

JU. CHARRETIE."

"*London, 3rd October*, 1796."

But to return to our narrative of Captain Harris's voyage to America. It was natural that his imagination should revert, with some admixture of regret, to the happiness he had left behind, —that during the long days, and longer nights, of a rough and tedious passage across the Atlantic he should sigh for the companions of his youth, the friends of his maturer years, and the smiles of one so worthy of his ardent love. But if his spirits were thus for the time depressed, they seem to have regained their wonted buoyancy and evenness as soon as he joined the British army. In a letter to his cousin, written a few weeks after his arrival, he describes the delight and satisfaction with which he felt himself inspired, when actively engaged in the service of his king and country.

"At last, my dear Bess, the wish of my heart is fully accomplished. You have often heard me regret having been so long in the military line without seeing the army in a state of active service. I am happy to say that I never was better in my life—marching all day under a scorching

sun, and laying my length at night on my mother earth, with only a blanket to cover me,—instead of spoiling, improves my appearance. Every one compliments me on my looks. As for Tom, he looked very well when I saw him about a week ago, since when our corps has been moving so quick, that I have not been able to hear of him.

"We have had what some call a battle, but if it deserves that name, it was the pleasantest I ever heard of, as we had not received more than a dozen shot from the enemy, when they ran away with the utmost precipitation. You may imagine the eagerness of our brave fellows. We have cleared Long Island, and I think, in a day or two, shall be on the continent. The contents of this letter are to be communicated in Marlborough Street, as I cannot find time to write more than once in our present state of hurry. The paper I write on was once the property of an American, at least so I suppose, as it was brought to me by my corporal.

"My mother, I fear, will give me a thousand scolds for not being more particular as to the state of my head; but I have not words or time to say how well it has been ever since I landed—not the least signs of headach, or annoyance of any kind, notwithstanding the many duckings we have had, often without a rag to change—at best, never more than one.

"Colonel Medows is my commanding officer, and this I consider one of the pleasantest things that ever happened to me. We sleep together in a soldier's tent, which, when well littered down with straw, we consider quite a luxury. He led us on to action in the most gallant manner; and I am convinced that if General Howe had made a sign for us to follow the Americans into their works, we would have done it. Thanks to the General's prudence, we have effected this object without the loss of the many brave fellows who must have fallen in the attempt.

"My present situation must excuse my not writing to my sisters. They will be glad to hear I am in excellent health and spirits. Adieu,

Ever yours, affectionately,

GEORGE HARRIS."

In a letter to his uncle, we find the following notices of the landing and movements of the force to which he belonged. As this letter is in the form of a journal, it will serve to connect the thread of events, as well as any extracts that might be made from the publications of that time, and as it contains many particulars of a personal and domestic nature which would not be found in works of more pretension, it will probably repay the reader for the trouble of perusal:—

"On the 5th August we made the harbour of

New York, and at the entrance joined the very fleet with which I had so much wished to sail, and of which ours, in fact, was the second part. On the 18th I got quit of the recruits to my great satisfaction, and joined my company on Station Island. About the 20th we embarked in boats for Long Island, and landed, without opposition, in Gravesend Bay; marched six miles inland, and halted till the 26th. A large body of the Americans near us keeping up a fire from behind walls and trees. About four P.M. of the 26th struck tents, and lay on our arms during the night about three miles from Bedford; and though in summer, it was the coldest night I have experienced up to this time (25th November). Such sudden changes of climate are not uncommon here. The weather is now most unnaturally hot and close, after severe frosts.

"At daybreak, the 27th, the light infantry attacked and forced several small posts which the Americans had on the road leading to their lines at Bedford. This appeared to be the first notice they had of our being near to them. About nine we fired two signal guns to a part of the army under General Grant, who was to make a feint in the front of the Americans, while we got round to their rear: and immediately marched briskly up to them, when, almost without firing a shot, they abandoned their post, and retreated to their lines under cover of their guns (these they also evacuated two or

three days after, retiring upon New York during the night). Our men were most eager to attack them in their lines, and I am convinced would have carried them, but we were ordered to retreat out of reach of their guns, and lay from about four P.M. till very near dark at the entrance of a small wood, exposed to the fire of their riflemen. During the whole evening they hit but one man, though their balls continually whistled over our heads, and lodged in the trees above us. Their loss that day is acknowledged by them to have been 2,600; ours about 300 in killed and wounded.

"On the 30th the reserve, with the light infantry, again left the army, which the next day took peaceable possession of all the American works on Long Island, and encamped near Hell Gate.

"Batteries were soon erected to oppose a work they had on York Island, and though the East river is there 800 paces across, our artillery soon silenced theirs, and, as we afterwards found, dismounted most of their guns. Our landing on York Island was effected without the loss of a man, for the moment they saw us ashore, they retreated to their works at Kingsbridge. A lieutenant of theirs, who was that night my prisoner, informed me that a body of 3,000 had got round to our right, with the intention of attacking us before we could form after landing, but so little eager were they to commence the assault, that,

upon their falling in with two companies of Grenadiers, who had by accident been posted on the same road, they fled with the utmost haste; not even taking time to put on their packs and blankets, which they had thrown off on a thorough conviction of beating us. Their blankets were a great prize, as several of our men had thrown off their's on the 27th, when pursuing the enemy. Here they amply made up their losses.

"I wish that Tom were with us, and as my lieutenant. At present he makes war with a thousand luxuries, of which we are deprived. These, however, he cares as little for as I do, and the other night wished to volunteer going with us to attack in the Jerseys, but was prevented doing so. You may be sure I did not throw cold water on his offer, but rejoiced in it, and should have been as happy to have had him fighting by my side as to see him making successful love to Miss

"After landing in York Island, we drove the Americans into their works beyond the eighth mile-stone from New York, and thus got possession of the best half of the island. We took post opposite to them, placed our picquets, borrowed a sheep, killed, cooked, and ate some of it, and then went to sleep on a gate, which we took the liberty of throwing off its hinges, covering our feet with an American tent, for which we should have cut poles and pitched, had it not been so dark. Give

me such living as we enjoy at present, such a hut and such company, and I would not care three farthings if we stayed all the winter, for though the mornings and evenings are cold, yet the sun is so hot as to oblige me to put up a blanket as a screen.

"Tell my best of mothers that my compass has been of the greatest use in enabling me to ascertain the proper aspects for our houses, and has gained me, in fine, the thanks of all parties.

"The 16th of September we were ordered to stand to our arms at eleven A.M., and were instantly trotted about three miles (without a halt to draw breath), to support a battalion of light infantry, which had imprudently advanced so far without support as to be in great danger of being cut off. This must have happened, but for our haste.—So dangerous a quality is courage without prudence for its guide; with it, how noble and respectable it makes the man. But to return to our narrative. The instant the front of our columns appeared, the enemy began to retire to their works, and our light infantry to the camp. On our return we were exposed to the fire of the Americans. A man in my company had his hat shot through nearly in the direction of my wound, but the ball merely raised the skin; and in the battalion on our left a man was shot so dead when lying on the ground, that the next man did not perceive it, but when he got up to stand to

his arms, kicked his comrade, thinking he was asleep, and then found, to his great surprise, that he was quite dead, a ball having entered under the ear, and very little blood having issued from it.

"Before we started in the morning, our dinner, consisting of a goose and piece of mutton, had been put on the fire. The moment we marched, our domestic deposited the above-named delicacies on a chaise, and followed us with it to our ground. When the fight was over, he again hung the goose to the fire, but the poor bird had scarcely been half done, when we were ordered to return to our station. There we again commenced cooking, and, though without dish, plate, or knife, did ample justice to our fare, which we washed down with bad rum and water, and then composed ourselves to rest on our friendly gate. Our baggage joined us the next day.

"We remained in camp till the 10th October, waiting for redoubts to be formed across the island. Lord Percy was left to defend these with three brigades of British and Hearne's brigade of Hessians. At eight P.M. of the 10th, the reserve, the light infantry and 1,500 Hessians, embarked in boats, under General Clinton, went up the East river, passed Hell Gate, and landed at Frogneck without opposition. I cannot here help noticing a part of the river we went through, called Devil's Pans, at the point of an island, which here divides

the river into two rapid streams, and causes a very dangerous whirlpool. The suction is so great, that at times the river on that side is impassable. This danger we avoided, though with difficulty, for, through the ignorance of our pilot, we were on the edge of the pool when too late to avoid the suction, and found ourselves, circle after circle, attracted to the centre, in spite of all our efforts, till at last the boatmen were on the point of quitting their oars, despairing of escape, when, animated I suppose by the love of life, I began to storm at them for their cowardice, and made them stick to their oars. We at length perceived that we made progress, and emerged from the whirlpool, escaping without other accident than the dislocation of a man's wrist, who very foolishly attempted to fend off a large wherry, containing fifty men, which, by the force of the stream, was carried against our boat.

"We lay on Frogneck till the 10th of October; on the 18th, at one in the morning, the van of the army, consisting of the light infantry and grenadiers, embarked for the continent, and landed without opposition. The boats soon brought over great part of the army, when we marched into the country, drove the enemy from some posts, and lay on our arms near New Rochelle. We lost here two light infantry officers and some men, owing to their too great haste to attack. The grenadiers did not suffer, being only exposed to

the fire of the American batteries, which were very ill served. From this we marched to White Plains, being informed that 15,000 American troops were entrenched there.

"On the 28th, the army, in two columns, marched towards their position, and here, for the first time, *we* were tranquil spectators of the fight, except, indeed, as far as our anxiety for our friends and comrades was concerned. I had a brother in peril, till then unknown to him. Thanks be to God that he behaved like a man, and escaped unhurt. May he ever display the same spirit with the same result.

"The Americans behaved in the most dastardly manner, for, though they at first made a show of resistance, no sooner was our second brigade ordered to advance, than they gave way with such precipitation, that they escaped to the heights before our men could reach them. They acknowledge, however, to have lost in killed and wounded 600; ours was 200. Two days after this engagement they abandoned the heights, without attempting to defend them.

"On the 5th of November we commenced our retreat from White Plains, and marched very leisurely to Fort Washington, on New York Island. After some halts, we were ordered on the 16th of November to attack the neighbouring heights, preparatory to investing it, which we very soon effected, and ere landing received terms of capitu-

lation from the commandant of the fort, which some days before they declared was to have prevented us from returning that way to New York. Here we took 2,500 prisoners.

"On the 19th of November we again struck tents, and embarked in boats at Fort Washington, passed Fort Constitution without being perceived, and landed at a place four miles above it, where 100 resolute men might have stopped our whole army. Here we took possession of their tents, baggage, thirty-two guns, and a great quantity of stores.

"We now pursued the enemy, much too slowly for our wishes; but it is not for us subordinates to comment on the movements of our commanders, of which we are in general very incompetent judges. Warped by passion, we consider only visible objects, and forget the thousand latent wheels by which a great army moves.

"We marched *vid* Newbridge, Newark, and Elizabeth Town, to New Brunswick. So soon as winter quarters are settled, I depart for New York, where all my effects are in store, but where I most heartily wish they had never gone, as they will, in all probability, be greatly damaged. However, life is left, and if the war continue, I have prospects that will amply repay me for such losses; and if fair peace should come, she's welcome, for I shall then return to my dearest friends, and be, though poor, contented.

"The Americans have crossed the Delaware, and give out that they mean to attack us on the other side. Next spring will put them to the test. Till then, adieu politics and military operations; unless, indeed, a winter campaign should take place, of which there is some idea. I must not omit to inform you of the capture of Colonel Lee*. He was taken by a party of our's, under Colonel Harcourt, who surrounded the house in which this arch-traitor was residing. Lee behaved as cowardly in this transaction as he had dishonourably in every other. After firing one or two shots from the house, he came out, and entreated our troops to spare his life.. Had he behaved with proper spirit, I should have pitied him, and wished that his energies had been exerted in a better cause. I could hardly refrain from tears when I first saw him, and thought of the miserable fate in which his obstinacy has involved him. He says he has been mistaken in three things; 1st. That the New England men would fight; 2nd. That America was unanimous; and 3rd. That she could afford two men for our one.—Adieu."

The attack threatened by the Americans, and referred to in the preceding letter, was executed earlier than had been anticipated, and produced a disastrous change upon the succeeding course of

* Lee had deserted from the English, and joined the Americans, who conferred on him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

the war in that country. In the following letter to his uncle, Captain Harris gave a detailed account of what he denominates the tragedy of Trenton, and which appears to have arisen from one of those chances in war upon which the fate of empires has often depended.

"*January* 16, 1777.

"You know from history reverses in war are not uncommon. To have had our successes continued totally uninterrupted was, perhaps, more than the most sanguine tory ever expected. Till very lately Cæsar's laconic 'Veni, vidi, vici,' might justly have been used by us. Had I time I would attempt to relate the whole affair at Trenton as it passed, according to the best information we could collect. But you must be contented with a slight sketch. We understand that Colonel Rawle, who commanded the Hessians, had intelligence of the intended attack, and had his men under arms the whole night. Long after day-break, a most violent storm of snow coming on, he thought he might safely permit his men to lie down, and in this state they were surprised by the enemy. The Hessians were about 1,300; between 800 and 900 were taken, the rest escaping by a road, by which nearly the whole might have got off, if in those moments every man had been collected. But this is not to be expected. This success gave the Americans such

spirit that they crossed the river in numbers, sufficient to make a post of Hessians fall back to Prince Town, and even then to cause such an alarm as led the commanding officer to request a reinforcement. This was not complied with for some days, but then a part of the army was sent, the grenadiers, with the second battalion of Guards. You would have felt too much to be able to express your feelings, on seeing with what a warmth of friendship our children, as we call the light infantry, welcomed us, one and all crying, 'Let them come!' 'Lead us to them, we are sure of being supported.' It gave me a pleasure too fine to attempt expressing, and if you see a stain on the paper, pray place the drops to the right motive, for the tears flowed even at the thought, so that I could not stop them. This reverse has given the Americans great spirits, which I am convinced they never would have had if the Hessians had not been surprised, but fought as I have seen them. Washington, to do him justice, has taken advantage of the moment, crossing the Delaware, and beating three regiments that lay in his way. This has elated them so much, and occasioned such a change of quarters in our army, as to render the prospect of passing the winter in ease and luxury totally dark. The country which was entirely our own being now divided between us; and every thing which was then to be got for money and at very moderate

prices, must now be earned at the point of the sword, and what is worse, with very great fatigue. I could tell you a long story of an excursion of mine to the rebel army, but as I did not see their commander, the rest is not worthy of description. I shall therefore merely say, that Lord Cornwallis employed me to carry a letter to General Washington relative to the Hessian prisoners, and I returned safe, to the astonishment of most of my friends, with the two light horse who accompanied me. It may appear extraordinary that with a flag of truce I should be in danger, but the whole country is full of their scouting parties, whose greatest ambition is to be behind a cover and kill our light dragoons, who patrole most of the roads at different times, and for whose heads it is said a reward is offered in the army. However, in a few miles riding, I found all the same parties so much more afraid of us, than we of them, that we hallooed and laughed at several who on first seeing us took to their heels. I must now bid you adieu, and go my rounds."

From the date of this letter to the month of August, 1777, no event of public importance occurred in the force to which Captain Harris belonged. He then sailed with the fleet under Lord Howe from New York, and landed with the reserve of the army under Sir W. Howe, at Head of Elk, in September, and was shot through the leg in the attack on Iron Hill, where he had been

sent in advance by Lieutenant Colonel Medows, to cover the guns of the battalion with his company. The battle of Brandy Wine happened a few days after. Captain Harris was in a chaise with the baggage on account of his wound, when the army was ordered to form. Taking a horse without a saddle, he had the honour to share in the glory of that day, but attended with the drawback of finding his gallant commander and friend most literally in the hands of the surgeon, having lost the use of both his own. Lieutenant Colonel Medows distinguished himself most particularly on that day in leading on his grenadiers on horseback, with the intention of charging the enemy's line without firing. In this situation he received a shot, in the act of waving his sword-arm just above the elbow, that went out at the back, knocking him off his horse, and the fall breaking his opposite collar-bone. The Colonel had not recovered his senses when Captain Harris came to him, but looking at him some time, and knowing his voice, he attempted to put out his hand, and not being able to use either, exclaimed "It's hard;" then, quite recovering his senses, said, "It's lucky, Harris, poor Fanny does not know this;" evincing then, as in every other instance, that perfect coolness and indifference to accidents as they affected himself, and only feeling anxiety for his friends. The wounded being ordered to Wilmington, on the Delaware, after

the action, and Captain Harris's wound having taken a bad turn, he was obliged to go to sick quarters. But he was soon ready for the first escort, and joined the army at Philadelphia, and was almost immediately ordered to take the command of the 5th Regiment, in consequence of Colonel Walcot being shot through the body at German Town. He was soon after promoted to a majority, and the 5th Regiment was in most of the excursions from Philadelphia before the evacuation of that town. When that event took place, Major Harris with the 5th Regiment covered the embarkation, and had the good fortune to become personally acquainted with Lord Howe, (who was the last man to embark,) and to be commended by that great and gallant officer for his exertions in executing that disagreeable service. One of his letters on this occasion is so characteristic of the buoyant spirit, but devout frame of mind, which accompanied him through all the varied changes and chances of his life, that it ought to be recorded. It is addressed to his cousin, and dated from Philadelphia, 27th November, 1777. "Notwithstanding that I am now a man of business, and instead of a company, have the weight of a regiment on my shoulders, I shall not yet take so much the great man on me as not to acknowledge my dearest and ever kind friend. When I forget her goodness, may my love forget me; and now that I am descending into the vale

of years, is not the imprecation most serious? Whatever the world may imagine, most sincerely I think so, for I would not lose my Nancy's* warm wishes to gain kingdoms. From the mood dame Fortune is now in, I cannot think the time of realizing them, far off. She is showering benefits on my head, that, lightly as I may talk, give me very serious reflections, and I cannot accuse myself of forgetting the Hand that dispenses, however I may fail in paying the proper tribute. To begin with my appointment to the majority, which to you will I make no doubt appear the most essential; but to me scarcely afforded more pleasure than that of my best male friend, Colonel Medows, coming back to the regiment, as my Lieutenant Colonel, and my poor Tom being sure of either being immediately appointed pay-master or quarter-master. He is very, very, hearty, is both bigger, browner, and I might add, for the sake of truth as well as alliteration, braver, than your ever affectionate

G. H."

The following is also in the same strain:—

"*January 24th*, 1778.

"Since my last to you on retirement, our views are wonderfully enlarged. Yet the most pleasing object I see among them (and perhaps the only certain one) is that we shall now be

* His future wife.

entitled sometimes to spare a guinea extraordinary to the poor, that we could before have ill afforded. This step (the majority) has at least doubled my pay, and I do not yet feel that it has increased my pride. The same rustic cot and russet gown would content the Major, that the Captain sighed for, supposing it furnished as you propose; ambition has not so great a hold, but that love's softer dreams occur, and my mind is fixed, if this long absence does not alter my Nancy, to try a patriarchal apprenticeship. To have that day arrive is the point of time I look forward to; beyond that I trust I may have others and you also. The young ones, if God should bless us with them, shall for many years be her charge and yours. And then, if boys, the father must show them to cut the wave and hurl the ball, to ascend the woodland steep, and despise the sharp north-east, that their bodies may not refuse what the firm mind shall attempt. What a vain creature is man! and in the pride of his heart what folly does he utter! Three thousand miles from all these blessings! can he expect to enjoy them unalloyed! The hand of God is all powerful. To Him let us resign ourselves, and not attempt to dive into futurity further than is permitted. Colonel Medows is perfectly recovered of his wound, and is, as ever, the pleasantest and best man I know.

G. H."

CHAPTER VIII.

Embarks with Brigadier-General Medows upon a secret expedition—Destined against St. Lucie—Engaged in the glorious repulse of 5,000 Frenchmen with 1,300 British soldiers—Anecdotes of General Medows.

BETWEEN the date of this letter and the next, an interval of nine months occurred. It is dated on board the *Ocean* transport, 30th October, 1778, and, as usual, addressed to his cousin:—

"If any one should ask you where I am going, tell them what, by the way of secret, I'll tell you,—I do not know—and, if they should be more inquisitive, that I do not care. But, at the same time, say I am on the tip-top of Fortune's wheel, and that if they want to write to me, they may direct to *Major Harris, Commander of the Grenadiers, second in command under Brigadier-General Medows.* Tell my best of mothers my happiness, and let her pray that her spirit may not fail me in the day of trial. Every one seems to think our expedition is the road home; if we can only get hand to hand with the Monsieurs, I am convinced it will be a glorious one."

This expedition turned out to be for the reduction of St. Lucie. An adventure, attended with unforeseen peril, but which, in the issue, was

productive of great glory to the commanders and forces both by sea and land, and of the highest advantage in all the ensuing operations of the war.

The reserve of the army, consisting of the 5th Regiment, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the whole, under the command of Brigadier-General Medows, were landed at the Grand Cul de Sac (an inlet in the island of St. Lucie) on the 13th December, 1778, and immediately marched forward to the heights on the north side of the bay. These posts, though very difficult of access, were soon forced. While General Prescot was employed in securing the bay, General Medows pushed forward, under the heat of a burning sun, and took possession of the important post of Vigie, which commands the north side of the Carenage harbour. The French commander, D'Estaing, seeing that General Medows was by distance and situation out of the reach of the main body, and that a retreat, however pressed or overpowered he might be, was impossible, determined to direct his whole efforts against General Medows and his party. The General was, however, nothing daunted or dismayed by the peril of his position, or the superior numbers of the enemy. He knew that he could rely, under all dangers, upon the bravery and skill of the gallant band under him; and there was something so bewitching in General Medows, when in the field, that the

troops regarded him as the model of what a British officer ought to be in the hour of action; nor were these impressions weakened by the chivalrous orders which he published to them on this occasion.

"*St. Lucie, 14th December*, 1778.

"RESERVE ORDERS.

"Brigadier-General Medows is extremely sensible of the high honour conferred upon him by being appointed to so distinguished a corps as the Reserve. From the active gallantry of the light infantry, the determined bravery of the grenadiers, and the confirmed discipline of the 5th Regiment, everything is to be expected.

"The troops are desired to remember that clemency should go hand in hand with bravery; that an enemy in our power is an enemy no more, and the glorious characteristic of a British soldier is to conquer and to spare. Acting on these principles, they can never fail doing honour to themselves, their king, and the country they serve."

Although the result of the attack upon the British troops at the Vigie has been recorded by the historians of those times in terms that reflect the highest honour upon Sir William Medows, Major Harris, second in command, and all the other officers and troops, I cannot withhold some further particulars of that glorious day which I have found

written in Lord Harris's hand when in his eightieth year. His attention at that late period of his life was specially called to the subject by a request from the officer commanding his old regiment, the 5th, in which he had passed so many years, to explain to him the circumstances which had procured from the regiment the distinction of wearing a white feather, "which he had always understood they gained at the Vigie."

Lord Harris immediately answered this appeal, on the 22nd of June, 1824, by regretting that his memory, never very good, could now be of so little service to his old corps, but thought it likely that information might be obtained from Sir David Smith, Bart., at Alnwick, who was born in the regiment, highly distinguished himself with them in Canada, and from his strong attachment to the corps, had collected all the events he could that had occurred since their first formation. "All he could himself remember, at that distant period, relative to the white feather, was, that after the action of St. Lucie, when the men of the 5th were taking the white feathers from the hats of the Frenchmen who were killed, they said to each other, 'No one will dispute our right to the white feather after this day*.' I can vouch that, for the twenty-six years I was with them, from ensign to lieutenant-colonel, they wore the white feather

* The number of Frenchmen killed was more than the number of Englishmen under arms at the Vigie.

without a stain; and I most heartily wish success to your application, which you are sure will be complied with, or very good reasons given why it cannot be granted."

His mind having been thus called to the remembrance of what passed at the Vigie, nearly half a century before, he wrote in his usual manner the following memoranda upon the backs of letters, but in such firm and good characters as to show the deep interest he felt in performing this last act of duty to his gallant comrades:—

"In revolving time perhaps this small tribute of affection may chance to catch the eye of some descendants, who, generally more curious of family anecdotes than a present generation, may think themselves sufficiently interested to wish for any particulars that may explain (allow me to call it) the wonderful escape and victory of our detachment! I hope I am not profane in attributing our success almost to the immediate interference of Providence! Some circumstances would, I humbly presume, bear me through that the hand of the Almighty was stretched out towards us, or how could it happen that 1,300 bayonets, with sixty rounds of ammunition in charge of the men (seldom over-careful even of this article) with only four six-pounders, should beat off, and kill or wound many more of the enemy than their own numbers! We were attacked by 5,000 picked

troops of France, commanded by D'Estaing, and supported by 5,000 more, effectually keeping in check General Grant on the Morne Fortunée, by their sudden landing, and taking a position between us. So far D'Estaing acted like a good general; but his arrogance in despising the intelligence he had, and might have had, undid him. Count Leslie (whose house D'Estaing often resorted to to reconnoitre) told me, a few days after the action, that D'Estaing was very near striking him with his cane for daring to explain his opinion of the troops which he had seen pass by to the Vigie. With D'Estaing we were 'gens de couleur,' and he would not hear to the contrary. As such, he ordered us to be attacked, whether politically to encourage his people, or that it was his real belief, I do not pretend to know: however, this is certain—we soon convinced him of his error. And, as some proof of what we were, allow me to relate the conduct of two of my companies as a specimen of the battalion, and, indeed, of the detachment. My gallant friend, now no more, Captain Shawe, with the 4th Company, was ordered by me to make his men lie down, and cover themselves in the brush-wood as much as possible, to prevent their being seen as marks; when he (still standing as conspicuous as when he crossed the bank of the nullah before Seringapatam in April, 1799), immediately assured me he could answer that not a man would even wish to

stir until I ordered them. In this situation he had eight killed and wounded out of fifty, without firing a shot! To show the steadiness of the battalion, on my ordering the 45th Company, commanded by Captain Massey (from a reserve of three companies, which I kept under cover of a small eminence), to relieve the 49th Company, he was in an instant at his post, and as quickly ordered the company to make ready, and had given them the word 'Present,' when I called out, 'Captain Massey, my orders were not to fire,—recover!' This was done without a shot, and themselves under a heavy fire. This will, I trust, prove our colour was right British; and may it not be deemed an interference of Providence, that when we took possession of the Vigie, the enemy should have retired with such precipitation as to leave two twelve-pounders unspiked, with many rounds of ammunition? These guns certainly determined the fate of the day, being most ably managed by our senior artillery officer, Lieut. ——. Alas! I cannot recall his name, although I so well remember his ingenuous praise of my beloved brother, and his active gallantry and masterly management of the two twelve-pounders; nor can I forget Hill's* and my disappointment, when he lugged upon his shoulder a box of ammunition from the water-side, so heavy that it took two

* His brother-in-law, a man of gigantic power, and of the bravest heart.

men to each of the same weight to follow him with their burden. He threw it down, and on opening it, we found the cartridges so rotten, that on being handled, they crumbled to dust. We had but three rounds left; I turned to husband them, and he to join the 5th again, neither saying a word.

"What immediately followed cannot be better expressed than in Sir William Medows's own words, repeated to me many years after the action. —'A few minutes before my giving you my last order, I considered it all over with us! You had scarcely whispered to me, we had not three rounds a man left, when a shot* took you that I thought must be fatal; my wound was becoming very painful; their column rapidly advancing; the wounded from our line constantly passing to the hospital; all looked ill. But your running up the little eminence the shot had driven you from, gave me hopes again, and I left you to prepare for my part in the orders I gave you. These were for you to charge with the line when you thought the enemy sufficiently near, and then all that could scramble off to join me at the flag staff, from which I would charge with you as the last effort, and conquer or fall!'

"I proceeded accordingly to the front of our line to prepare for the charge, when, to my great joy, I saw the head of the enemy's column stag-

* This was only a spent ball, which produced no injury.

gering, and some men even turned to retreat, from the effect of two rounds of the twelve-pounders. I instantly ordered the companies near me to fire, bidding them direct upon those in confusion, and in a minute or two the whole column was gone about, and retreating as fast as their sense of honour would allow—a feeling that the gallant soldier has even to the death, that his enemy may not disgrace him with the name of runaway."

It is gratifying to see this fine old soldier, then in his eightieth year, thus remembering and doing justice to the gallantry of that enemy, which his own good conduct so much contributed to defeat; and the following orders, published the day after the battle, and on the three following days, when the French threatened a renewal of their attack upon the Reserve, are quite in the generous spirit of his noble chief, Sir William Medows:—

"*Vigie, 19th December*, 1778.

"RESERVE ORDERS.

"Brigadier-General Medows has the highest satisfaction in communicating the flattering letter from the Commander-in-Chief to the troops under his command, and begs leave to mark to the officers and men his admiration of their gallantry and good conduct in the action of the 18th instant. He feels too much to be able to add more than that, at the head of such a corps, he must be pleased to live, or proud to die."

"Copy of a letter from his EXCELLENCY the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF to BRIGADIER-GENERAL MEDOWS.

"SIR,

"I cannot express how much I feel myself obliged to you, and the troops under your command, for repulsing with so much spirit and bravery so great a body of the enemy. I own it was just what I expected from you and them; and I am sure, under your command, they will always behave in such a manner, as to reflect honour on themselves and their country, and I must beg you will express my gratitude and thanks to them in the strongest manner."

"*St. Lucie, 22nd December*, 1778.

"RESERVE ORDERS.

"The lines to be manned when the drum beats to arms."

"*24th December*, 1778.

"The drums to beat to arms, and the lines to be immediately manned."

"*St. Lucie, 25th December*, 1778.

"RESERVE ORDERS.

"As soon as our gallant and generous enemy are seen to advance in great numbers, the troops are to receive them with three huzzas, and then to be perfectly silent and obedient to their officers.

"Whilst they are cool by day, and alert by

night, they have nothing to fear. If the enemy want our arms, let them come and take them.

"During the attack, the drums and fifes are to assemble round the colours of the 5th Regiment, and beat the 'Grenadiers' March.'"

The whole conduct of General Medows was in the spirit of these orders, and he had a brave and prudent second in Major Harris.

The operations of that day have been so eloquently described in the *Annual Register* of that time, that I cannot deny myself the gratification of transcribing a small part of it.

In the account given by this high authority, (and the *Annual Register*, as it was then in part written by Burke, was of the highest authority,) we see a bright example of that devotion and success in their country's cause, in our naval and military services, which shone forth in later years with such lustre in the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, leaving the scale of pre-eminence so finely balanced, that it still remains (and will, I trust, for ever remain) undecided by their equal glory and equal claims upon the gratitude of their country.

"Nothing could exceed the dispositions made upon this occasion by General Medows, nor surpass his conduct in any of its parts. He was wounded in the beginning of the action, but could neither be persuaded by his surgeons to quit the

field, nor to admit of their assistance in it until the affair was decided. It would be needless to make any observations upon the behaviour of his officers and troops; where all were brave, little notice could be taken of individuals. Major Harris, who commanded the grenadiers, and was next in command to General Medows, and Major Sir James Murray, at the head of the light infantry, had, from their rank, an opportunity of being more particularly distinguished. It would seem, upon the whole, as if there had been a zealous emulation in danger and glory between the land and the naval departments, and that fortune had taken care to share the palm so equally, that the contest should still remain undecided. The loss sustained by the French exceeded any thing that could be supposed or apprehended, either from the numbers engaged, or from the duration of the action. No less than 400 men were killed upon the spot; 500 were so desperately wounded as to be rendered incapable of service, and 600 more were slightly wounded; the whole amounting to a considerable number, greater than that of the enemy whom they had encountered. The loss of the victors was comparatively as small, as that on the side of the vanquished was great, and beyond usual example; and it cannot but excite astonishment, that, although many were wounded, not a single British officer should have lost his life in such an action."

Although there was no British officer killed on that important day, there was one subsequent loss of the victors, which struck deep into the heart of Major Harris; his brother was severely wounded, and died after the action. No man ever loved a brother with more devoted affection, as the family journal of Mrs. Dyer thus describes: "Alas! the first accounts we received of the affair at the Vigie too fatally convinced us that 'the paths of glory lead but to the grave.' I truly lament that I am not possessed of the letter your father wrote to your grandmother on this melancholy occasion, and that my memory supplies me with only the first line:—'Queens might behold you with envy, mourning as a mother for such a son.' Sorry I am that recollection fails of what I thought when I read it, whether considered in the light of filial or fraternal affection, piety or true heroism, the most beautiful epistle that ever was penned. How much he loved him, how sincerely he mourned his untimely fate, will appear by the following letters.

"'*Island of St. Lucie, March* 14, 1779.

"'How many anxious moments must my dear Bess have passed between the report of our expedition and the arrival of my letter by the *Pearl* frigate. It seems an age since we left New York, and if we reflect on the events, more of consequence has happened than in my whole life

besides. You will all severely feel the loss of our poor Tom, but even you must allow the blow was ruder on me than on any. Long ere I could have reached him, a messenger arrived to say he was no more. Such were my sensations, that I could have sat over his grave till I had mouldered and become a clod of the valley, as he was. The boat's crew knew my intent in landing, and I could perceive on my return, that both they and Holmes were equally weak as myself. You will believe I thanked them, and was obliged. It was a melancholy morning, though of that kind it is manly to seek, for I then went to visit a serjeant in the company with my brother, and shot close by him, both behaving with a gallantry to make them more regretted by those they commanded. How glorious to die nobly in defence of our country, regretted by an army, rather than ignobly, of a vile unwholesome air. Even the flinty heart of a soldier could not tell me of his death, but called General Medows aside, who, with tears that almost stopped his utterance, stammered out, 'Harris, be a man in this, as in every thing else; the struggle is past.' 'Tis impossible to convey to you the obligations I owe to General Medows, or the love I bear him. He is brave, good, and generous. I have every reason to be thankful. I cannot enumerate my blessings. I have far more than I deserve. God only can make me sufficiently thankful. May He enable me to live

honourably and die gloriously; and what is there in this life to make us wish a dear friend back? What are a few years more or less?—a speck in time, so fine as not to be seen!'"

When these emotions of grief for his beloved brother, and the solemn thoughts which they had excited, began to subside, Major Harris turned with fond affection towards her who possessed his heart in England, and all his hopes were directed to a speedy return to her.

In writing to his cousin he said, "If but a single regiment get home, the 5th is, from several circumstances, the first. After all the instances of hair-breadth 'scapes and glorious enterprises, one cannot help now and then sighing for the friendly hearth. Five campaigns, though they have not abated my zeal, have certainly tended to strengthen my original love of retirement. A country life, with land enough to give me employment, is what I have, however distant the prospect, continually in view."

"*June* 3*rd.*—Notwithstanding my high spirits and fond hopes, Fortune has jilted us. The regiment is turned into marines. As the drowning wretch catches at a straw, I am willing to believe it will not be of long duration, or that the fleet may be blown to, or obliged to go to, England; but at present Fortune has jilted us. It's not always she's to be boldly won; tho' I must con-

fess it in general succeeds. Some poet says (and I suppose these gentlemen make Fortune a female for that purpose), that,

> Women, born to be controlled,
> Stoop to the forward and the bold.

However, I feel such confidence in the little blind urchin, after his attention in delivering my letters to you, that I cannot think he will fail us now.

"If I thought I could desert my country's cause for my own ease, I could not offer my Nancy so ignoble a heart; but sure I am that, having her once mine, I should act with double zeal. I am therefore pretty much determined to see her at every risk.

"My dear friend General Medows is in as good health as this climate will permit him. If you should be lucky enough to see him, you will see a man that I really believe I could get between and a cannon-ball, if I knew it was coming."

As one of the many instances afforded in the after life of Major Harris, that this was no transient feeling of affection to General Medows, I find an anecdote stated, which I believe to be well founded. The General, acting upon that principle which continually influenced his military career, and which taught him that it made little difference in the chances of a soldier's life, whether he did his duty cautiously and shabbily, or promptly and handsomely, exposed himself to the hottest fire whenever he could. On one occasion, he perse

vered so heedlessly in doing so, that Colonel Harris, and the other officers with him, implored him to come down from the position where he stood as a mark to the enemy. He disregarded their remonstrance, when Colonel Harris jumped up, and placed himself beside him, saying, "If you, sir, think it right to remain here, it is my duty to stand by you." This act of generous friendship had an immediate effect upon the noble heart of General Medows, and he descended from his perilous station.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceeds to England in a Dutch vessel—Is taken prisoner, but soon released—Is married—Rejoins his regiment in Barbadoes, and then proceeds with it to Ireland as Lieutenant-Colonel—Saves the ship from being wrecked on the Old Head of Kinsale—Description of his exertions by Mrs. Harris.

All Major Harris's letters at this period breathed the spirit of the warmest affection and anxiety to revisit his "ladye love." With this view, he obtained leave of absence from his regiment, and, in company with Lord Cranstown, took his passage in a Dutch vessel, but he was destined to suffer fresh delay and disappointment. They were captured by a French privateer, and taken to France as prisoners of war; they were afterwards released on their parole, as, by a private article in the treaty between the two countries, officers taken in neutral ships were not to be considered in the light of prisoners of war.

After a short stay in England, his marriage was happily completed, and he set out, with his bride, to rejoin his regiment in Barbadoes.

Of the happiness of that marriage he spoke in terms of rapture, even in a ship, where he "thought each day too soon ended." But they had scarcely reached Barbadoes before they were

exposed to one of those trials that must ever attend military marriages. Major Harris was sent upon an expedition, the destination of which was a secret. Some days passed in this most painful state of separation and anxiety, when the abandonment of the expedition restored him in safety; yet short was this gleam of happiness. The usual exchange of regiments taking place, the 5th was one of those that were to return to England in the summer of 1780; but as the time was rather uncertain, and Mrs. Harris's situation rendered it absolutely necessary for her to be settled in some comfortable place by a certain day, another separation was unavoidable.

The journal which Mrs. Harris wrote of her lonely voyage home beautifully describes her feelings on this distressing occasion. After much of trial and suffering, she arrived at Plymouth; but, to her inexpressible joy, Major Harris reached that port the day before she gave birth to a daughter, who, happily for all connected with her, has inherited the tender affections of her mother, and the fortitude and sense of her noble father.

In December of this year Major Harris was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and ordered, with his regiment, to Ireland. During his passage an opportunity happened for the display of his own great presence of mind, and his influence over others. The transport which conveyed his regiment was commanded by a most

incompetent captain, who had lost all authority over his crew. They declared that they would obey no commands but those of Colonel Harris, and nothing but his energy and composure in the midst of the greatest dangers and difficulties, saved the vessel from being dashed to pieces on the Old Head of Kinsale, as the following narrative most feelingly describes. It was written by Mrs. Harris, nine years after the event, for the information of her children during their father's absence in the East Indies in the first war with Tippoo.

After describing a boisterous passage down the Channel, and their being forced to take shelter in Plymouth, she begins:—"We had but little reason to conceive a high opinion of our ship's captain; for being on deck at the time we weighed anchor at Catwater, I could not help observing his strange conduct, and evident stupidity. His directions to the men were always given with a vulgar imperiousness, highly disgusting. But being very nearly thrown at that time into a very dangerous situation, by the impropriety of his own orders, he had the meanness to descend to the grossest flattery, and abjectly entreated those to obey him, whom before he had abused and derided. At last we bore away, after our whimsical commodore; who veered and tacked about, just as the fancy took him; and except our own, scarcely a vessel was with him, when we made

the Irish coast. Cork was the port we were bound for: and the *Leander* being a fine sailing ship, was far a-head of our heavy transport, and with the help of glasses, our mariners easily saw her making all the sail she could into the harbour, leaving us exposed on that dangerous coast, to a foul wind, hazy weather, and a rolling sea. Our silly captain fretted, and in short, did not know what course to follow; but said if your father approved it, the ship should be put about, and we would try to make Kinsale. The proposal was readily agreed to, our situation now becoming very serious. A signal being made for a pilot, one soon came on board, and your dear father took me on deck, to observe how curiously the vessel would be navigated, in the narrowest channel I ever beheld. The Old Head of Kinsale, a most tremendous jutting-out rock, was at the mouth of the harbour, and we should have run far within it, but we were so unfortunate as to have a pilot so besotted, he did not take sufficient notice of what he was doing, and brought the ship to, just abreast of this frightful place: however, our anchor got pretty good hold, and satisfied by the Irishman's assurance of our safety, we resigned ourselves to remaining on board that night, it being too boisterous to venture a boat out; and though we concluded the ship was in good anchorage, I could not help observing, she rolled more violently than I ever experienced in

the severest storm when under sail. The hopes that our voyage was just at an end, put me into the greatest spirits; and I went to bed with a light heart, though the motion of the ship was intolerable, and the tempest howled most dreadfully without. Early in the morning I was awakened by the firing of a gun from the quarter-deck; several succeeded, and on looking about, I found your dear father had left his bed. On hearing I was awake, he came immediately to me. The guns had alarmed me. I knew they were signals of distress, and began to apprehend something dreadful in our situation. With that admirable composure and presence of mind for which your excellent father is so distinguished, he endeavoured to explain away my fears; soothed me by a tenderness that was delightful; and spoke the sweetest comfort, even when in immediate prospect of the pangs of death. I grew perfectly composed, and he went again upon deck, where I afterwards found his presence was of the utmost consequence, in encouraging and commanding the men, who had positively declared they would obey no orders but his; and indeed his wonderful exertion saved the ship, and of course all the souls on board. The bustle above increasing, I called to our man-servant, who was waiting at my cabin door, desiring to know what they were doing. 'Oh madam (said he), we are lost people! they

cannot keep the ship off the dreadful rock; you may see it not a stone's throw from your cabin window. We have been in a most perilous situation the whole night.' The imprudent fellow soon perceived the effects of his rashness by my countenance, and brought his master instantly to me; finding all evasion was now impracticable, he said, our situation was undoubtedly a bad one, but a boat was coming off shore immediately for us; that I must keep up my spirits, and all would soon be well. At the same time strengthening my fainting resolution, by reminding me what mercies we had received at the hands of our bountiful Creator, who he doubted not would add our present relief to the number. He took me upon deck with him, for he durst not leave the men, and he knew I was easiest by his side. I will not distress your tender feelings with a full description of the scene that now presented itself to my view, but must say it was indeed most terrifying; and added to all that was passing on board, I saw the wretches waiting in numbers on the shore, expecting our vessel would go to pieces, and intent (as is their barbarous usage) on plundering the wreck. From this dismal scene my attention was roused by the expected boat approaching near the ship. Your dear father was making everything ready to get me into it, but how that was to be accomplished, almost staggered

even his resolution. The ship rolled most violently, what the sailors term gunnel-to; and being a very large and light transport, it is impossible to express the motion she suffered. However, by your excellent father's and the mariners' exertions, or rather by the immediate goodness of Almighty Providence, Sally and I were got safely into the boat; you, my dear Nancy, shivering and crying, being just taken from a warm bed, your dear father, at the risk of his own precious life, deposited safely in my arms. And now, my dear children, the most dreadful part of my trial began. 'My Nancy,' said your father, with a forced smile, while I too plainly saw the starting tear, 'you must now exert yourself, as I know you can do; I cannot, my heart, leave the ship at present, so I commit you to the care of these worthy Irishmen. In a few hours I shall follow you; be sure dinner is prepared against I come, and wait till three.' Oh! my children, think what I suffered in that dreadful moment! But there was no alternative. He flew up the ship's side, while our boat, which had sails, put off, quick as thought, to the shore. My eyes, dimmed with tears, could not behold long the vessel that contained my dear, dear treasure! while the boatmen, not considering how shocking it must be to me to hear them mention the great danger of the ship, spoke of nothing else; and with warm, though rude language,

hoped, that God would preserve the brave gentleman (meaning your dear father) in safety. It blew a storm, and snowed very fast. I was perishing with cold by the time we got to shore, distracted with apprehensions, and hardly able to keep my poor little Nancy at my breast. An officer of the regiment attended to protect me; with whom, Sally, and our man-servant, I landed at Kinsale. From the landing-place to the principal inn we had a dreadful walk, the snow being mid-leg deep; and my poor babe cried so bitterly, I was forced to carry her myself, though fatigue, cold, and anguish, had rendered me almost unable to support my own weight. Behold me now at Kinsale, among perfect strangers, and in a country equally strange, and my mind distracted by your father's perilous situation. Yet be assured, my dear children, I did not so lose myself in sorrow, as to forget the many mercies the Almighty had shown him in the greatest dangers; and the reflection in whose hands he was, enabled me to get through this weary day with more composure than, on the retrospect, I can scarce think was possible, but for that support, which I trust throughout life the Almighty will bestow on ye, my dear children, and which He graciously promises to all who implore his assistance and protection: 'Seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you.' Surely no one can resist

this pressing invitation, so beneficial to their pursuits here, and so vital to their hopes hereafter.

"A little refreshment and dry clothes made us somewhat more comfortable; and I hoped the promised hour would bless me with my dear husband's arrival, which happy hope was, to all appearance, confirmed, by observing a boat coming to the shore. It came, but instead of your dear father, brought a note from him, telling me, 'the ship was assuredly getting into safer anchorage; though he could not leave her till evening, yet I might depend the danger was over.' I need not describe the cruel disappointment I sustained—indeed, the bare recollection, at this distant period, is too much for my feelings. A melancholy and almost untasted meal over, a long and sad afternoon dragged on, and I became so ill, my maid and kind hostess insisted on putting me to bed. Wretched as I was, fatigue overpowered me, and I had fallen asleep; when our landlady, who had before taken her leave, rapped at the door (which Sally had fastened), requesting, with an 'Arrah, my dear honeys, let me in,' roused and alarmed me. I would not let Sally comply with her demand, which she repeated, and was again denied; when your father's well-known voice gained the desired admittance. With what rapture the dear sound broke upon my ear is not to be described—(at present, indeed, it is impossible, as that satisfac-

tion is now beyond my reach, were I to offer my life for it). Oh! my dear children, will ye not endeavour to make us some recompense for those struggles your welfare has again obliged us to submit to? Remember the sacrifice we are making; be good and deserving, and sweet will be our reward.

"The joy I felt in your dear father's being restored to me, was much increased by the information that the ship and crew were safe. Next morning I had the pleasure of seeing my old shipmates safely landed, and sweet was the gratification to me, when they all poured forth their warmest thanks to your dear father, for his unabating efforts and judicious conduct, it being clear to all that it was owing to these the ship and so many lives were saved.

"May ye, my dear children, make his example the object of your constant imitation: so will ye gain that love and reverence that ever follow his name. Thus have I gone through a painful recital, with as strict an adherence as possible to truth, as my rising emotions, and starting tears best prove. And to conclude the narrative, I shall only observe to my beloved children that the retrospect of past trials should inspire us with a proper confidence, that all that follows will be overcome, through the infinite goodness of our Gracious Father who is in heaven, and on whom

I ardently pray my dear children may ever place the firmest reliance.

ANNE CARTERET HARRIS.

"*Long Town, September*, 1789."

This artless and affectionate narrative of the perils through which she had passed, and of the feelings they excited, does justice and honour to the warm heart of the writer, and will account for the reluctance with which Colonel Harris continued in the path of glory and of danger.

When Mrs. Harris, whose infant daughter had been rocked in the rude cradle of this tempestuous voyage, had a little recovered from fatigue and apprehension, Colonel Harris proceeded with them to Kilkenny, where the beauty of the scenery and the warm hospitality of the neighbourhood, and of some friends who had known him during his former residence in Ireland, made them an agreeable abode. But it did not continue long; for the report of a French invasion required that the 5th Regiment should march immediately to Limerick, where Mrs. Harris increased the sources of her husband's affection by giving birth to a son (the present Lord Harris). He was subsequently stationed in various parts of Ireland, when the prospect of a numerous family, added to an innate love of retirement and country pursuits, prompted him to make several attempts to sell his commis-

sion. Preparatory thereto, he took a cottage at Long Town, on the borders of Scotland, during the leave which he had from his regiment. Here he lived for some time, whenever his military duties admitted of his absence, but not without leaving in the remembrance of the neighbourhood a warm impression of his many excellent qualities, as I had recently an opportunity of hearing, after a lapse of more than fifty years.

CHAPTER X.

Attempts to sell his commission, and retire to Canada—Is prevented by Sir William Medows, and persuaded to go with him as Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to Bombay—Their voyage and arrival there.

But all Colonel Harris's endeavours to sell his commission failed, except one, and the negotiation for this arrived at the very last stage of fulfilment, so far as his own will, and the means of the officer who was to purchase it from him, were concerned. He went to London to receive the money for his commission, intending to proceed with it, and settle with his family in Canada.

On his arrival in London, he accidentally met Sir William Medows in St. James's Street, and, after mutual expressions of friendship and affection, awakened by the casual meeting of two such comrades in past dangers, he explained the purpose of his visit to town, and his future intentions. Sir William listened with pain and impatience to the story, and asked if he had actually received the money, and if the new commission had been positively signed by the king. He was told there would be the delay of another day, in consequence

of the Princess Amelia's death. "Then," said he, "Harris, you shan't sell out—you shall go with me as secretary and aide-de-camp: I am just appointed governor of Bombay, and your presence will be a host to me. I'll go directly to the agent, and stop the sale." He did accordingly, and thus by the generous friendship of Sir William Medows, and the intervention of a kind Providence, Colonel Harris was reserved for another and a higher destiny. All the necessary preparations were quickly made for their voyage to Bombay. Colonel Harris exchanged from the 5th Regiment, then in Ireland, to the 76th, serving in India, and a heavy burden of care was taken from his mind, by a noble trait in the conduct of his kind friend, General Medows, who, with his brother, the late Earl Manvers, advanced 4,000*l.* to insure Colonel Harris's life for the benefit of his wife and family. This disinterested act of friendship relieved him, in a great degree, from the anxiety and apprehension he felt at leaving his wife and children totally unprovided for in the event of his death, and the consciousness that he was doing his duty towards them in the step he was taking, lessened the bitter pangs of separation.

His next letter is to his cousin, Mrs. Dyer, who had promised to be the faithful companion of his wife and family during his absence:—

"Ship *Winterton, August 7th*, 1788.

"To convince my dear Bess that I not only desire, but, to the best of my abilities, attempt to deserve, that she should continue a custom which has so long given pleasure and profit to her friend, I take the pen, full of the thought, that it is now almost thirty years since you first became my kind instructress in the use of it. How many tedious hours of that time hast thou beguiled by thy animated epistles! How many has thy encouragement induced me to employ better, I fear, than they would otherwise have been disposed of! Though Nature refused that I should rival my kind mistress, I have sometimes the vanity to think that she is not ashamed of her pupil. What a satisfaction to your never-changing friend that you are the willing assistant of his beloved wife in attempting to make his dear infants what you wished him to be! My dear Anne Elizabeth's first performances with the pencil are enshrined in their proper cases, are watched and visited with more affection than a miser's gold. Thy ring, my Bess, is a continued circle of joy to me; faithful memory is at least every hour of the day at dear Long Town, and often in the night we are not divided. Bright hope, heaven's kind comforter, often leads me to the time when thy sweet (and I trust prophetic) picture of the last 18th March*

His birthday.

shall be realized, and resignation to that Providence, who orders all for good, is wonderfully my companion. Here, my dear friend, your last present is become more valuable than you may, perhaps, have yet ventured to hope. Never at any time have I experienced such satisfaction in the perusal of the Scriptures as on this passage. The mild plain doctrines of our Saviour leave a calm the breath of man cannot give.

"We are now, my Bess, beginning to be on the stretch of expectation; again we have crossed the line, and are within a few days' sail of our destined port. We made Madagascar at sunset on the 8th, but I did not see it, which I know you will wonder at, for I might, by only going to the mast-head, whence only it was visible. To it we were obliged, in a great degree, for our smooth sailing; protected by its shores from the vast body of the Indian ocean, we glided with almost imperceptible motion in five days to Johanna. Here we landed, and found the scenes of Tinian (as described in ANSON'S *Voyages,*) even exceeded; with all its natural beauties it has the advantage of being inhabited. The present lords of the soil are descendants from Arab freebooters, who have conquered and made slaves of the aborigines. They pretend to be strongly attached to the English by gratitude for supplying them with arms to keep their rebellious subjects in order. To the credit of the India Company, they have an

excuse for this, besides the convenience of the place to them. Two ships that were wrecked here had not only many lives saved by the Mussulmen, but all the cargo that could be got on shore. They seem to pride themselves on being called after our titles, and very few present their letters of recommendation with a lower title than that of baron; they are in general handsome in their person, with a great deal of air and most insinuating address. Pity that I can't conclude this panegyric, without observing that, like the Chinese, they cannot help being of a thievish disposition. Lord *Combermaddy*, mine and my friend Hart's washerman, who had been particularly well treated, given a great many things by Hart, and amply paid by me, besides giving him the epaulet from my shoulder (value half a dollar, I dare say) wanted the servant out of the next cabin to put his master's pewter basin into his canoe, and say it had been stolen, which four others had actually been the same day.

"My man John, who is very quick-sighted on such occasions, does not perceive that we have lost anything but a bottle of Goulard and water, that had been mixed to bathe my eye, and which, from the look of the bottle, they had taken for *smell* water, their term for lavender. Here, alas! suspicion falls strongly on the Prince of Wales's second son, but it was probably for his mistress; and, from the respect I bear the royal family, I

would not press the inquiry too close, for fear of disgracing him.

"Adieu, my dear Bess. If this should fail to amuse, you have still the satisfaction of knowing that it has stolen a few moments from me which anxiety might have rendered tedious.

Believe me ever

Your sincere and affectionate friend whilst

GEORGE HARRIS."

The servant alluded to in this letter, by name John Best, or the best of Johns (as Sir William Medows described him in the bequest which he made of a sword to him in his will), was a most faithful and attached creature, and (in subsequent years) raised himself by his merit to an honest independence. In consequence of his gallant conduct, as one of the forlorn hope at the storm of Seringapatam, which he insisted upon going on, he was offered a commission in the army. This he had the good sense to decline, and be satisfied with the more suitable post of a commissary of ordnance. When desperately wounded in the bed of the river Cavery, he sat upon a rock, and cheered the men as they passed to the storm of the breach. Mrs. Harris, thinking that her husband would be too much occupied in his numerous duties to write often to her during his absence, had desired John Best to send an account of him whenever he had an opportunity. I can-

not withhold from the reader the following amusing specimen of his epistolary talents.

"*Bombay, January* 9, 1789.

"Madam,

"It gives me great pleasure to inform you, by the ship *Prince William Henry*, which is thought to be the first ship to London from this coast, and I am glad to inform you that my master is in perfect good health, and in a very comfortable healthy situation at present, and I hope you will receive this in good health and prosperity. And ever since we left London, Madam, there has been a great many pleasant affairs past, which did give me the greatest comfort in the world; for to see concerning my master on board the *Winterton*—we had not been long on board, before they all see'd, from my master's good pleasant looks and civil behaviour, that he was the sensiblest man on board, and in a short time they all became so very much pleased with him, that they did ask his advice at all times, for he perfectly at last gained all their favours; and if he had wanted any favour, or asked the captain to forgive any man when he was angry, it was always granted. And when we landed at Bombay, in two days all was ready to entertain the gentlemen when they came to dine with the Governor, for every day there is twelve or twenty different men at least every day, and they do make very free and pass the time cheerfully, which

is very pleasant to see; for I have often thought in my breast, if you did see how my master makes all the gentlemen so happy, it wou'd in the first place, it would surprise any person for to see, it is so well carried on. And my master sits at the head of the table, and the General at the side, for he gives all the care to my master, and he gives the gentlemen many broad hints that it is all Col. Harris's, which makes it appear very pleasant to me for to see them at all times like two brothers. The Governor very often tells the gentlemen some good story concerning Col. Harris, and they both agree in the same in such good nature, that it makes it very pleasant; and my master always drinks a glass of wine with every strange gentleman at table, and sometimes a great many, to the great pleasure of all the people at table; it looks so well, that when any strange gentleman comes to dine the first time, they seem quite surprised, and all the time keep their eyes fixed upon my master; so, I think, the best comparison I can make is, they look as if they were all his own children. But I am sorry to see the gentlemen live so fast; but, to my great comfort, my master is as careful as ever he was at home, and in every particular careful of his self. And this wine, you must know, that he drinks, is three parts water. If you will put two glasses of water and one of madeira, and then a little claret, you will not perceive any difference, and the claret,

one glass of water to one glass of claret. This I always mind myself, and give him, when he calls for madeira or claret. I hope, Madam, you will forgive me for giving myself the great honour of writing to you.

I am, with respect,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BEST."

This letter, in its original spelling, would have been more amusing and natural, but the copy in Mrs. Dyer's hand-writing is alone forthcoming.

CHAPTER XI.

Proceeds with Sir William Medows to Madras, and is engaged in the campaigns against Tippoo Sultaun in the years 1790, 1791, and 1792—Returns to England at the close of that war—Rejoins his regiment at Calcutta in October, 1794, and is unexpectedly appointed Commander-in-Chief at Madras.

THE remaining period of Colonel Harris's residence at Bombay passed very agreeably to himself and his chief, and when the appointment of General Medows to be Governor of Madras called him away, the inhabitants of Bombay expressed their warm regret at his departure.

Soon after the arrival of General Medows and Colonel Harris at Madras, Tippoo made an irruption into the Travancore country, and the Madras army was ordered by the Governor-General of India, Lord Cornwallis, to be immediately assembled for the punishment of this wanton violation of the peace against one of the Company's allies.

So soon as the army could be collected together in the southern countries, General Medows joined it, with Colonel Harris, as his military secretary and principal aide-de-camp, and the following general order was published. It will be found in the spirit of those which emanated from

the same source after the battle at the Vigie. (See page 100.)

"*Head Quarters, Camp, Trichinopoly Plain, May* 25, 1790.

"The Commander-in-Chief, Major-General Medows, is happy to find himself at the head of that army, whose appearance adorns the country he trusts their bravery and discipline will save. An army that is brave and obedient, that is patient of labour, and fearless of danger, that surmounts difficulties and is full of resources, but, above all, whose cause is just, has reason to hope to be invincible against a cruel and ambitious tyrant, whose savage treatment of his prisoners but too many present have experienced; however, should the fortune of war put him into our hands, uncontaminated by his base example, let him be treated with every act of humanity and generosity, and enlightened, if possible, by a treatment so much the reverse of his own. To a generous mind, a fault acknowledged is a fault forgot; and an enemy in our power is an enemy no more.

"That the army and the Commander-in-Chief may understand each other—and the sooner the better, as there is nothing on earth he idolizes more than a well-disciplined army, so there is nothing on earth he detests and despises more than the reverse—he is, therefore, determined to make the severest examples of the few that may

dare to disgrace the army in general by a different conduct. No plunderers will be shown the smallest mercy: he is resolved to make examples severe, in the hope of making them rare, and would think it one of the greatest blessings he could enjoy to make none at all. Among the first wishes of his heart is the army's reputation and success; but it must be prepared for hardships, and to endure them—for difficulties, and to surmount them—for numerous enemies, and to beat them."

Colonel Harris was present with General Medows during the whole of the campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792, particularly at the storming parties of the Pettah of Bangalore, and of the fortresses of Bangalore, Saverndroog, and Nundydroog. In the action of the 15th of May, 1791, he was appointed by Lord Cornwallis to command the second line of the army, and was personally engaged in his Lordship's attack on Tippoo's fortified camp and the island of Seringapatam on the night of the 6th of February, 1792, the success of which terminated that war.

Peace being restored, Colonel Harris left Madras, with Sir William Medows, in August, 1792, and, before they embarked for England, had the gratification of manifesting his grateful sense of the affectionate attachment and unbounded confidence which his gallant chief had always reposed

in him, by placing at his disposal more than 40,000*l.*, which had been accumulated by his daily care of the General's financial concerns. This sum was the residue of his allowances as Commander-in-Chief and Governor, after providing liberally for all the expenses of his high station, and there are some yet living who remember the ample hospitality of Sir William's table. Those of Sir William's friends, who well knew his careless habits about money, and his indifference to every thing but military fame, were surprised at the amount of his savings, and when they inquired how he had contrived to get such a sum, he replied, with his characteristic brevity and truth, "Harris knows how he scraped it together, but I don't."

After a year passed in the society of his family and friends in England, Colonel Harris proceeded with Mrs. Harris and his eldest daughter, to join his regiment, then in Calcutta. He arrived there in October, 1794, and was immediately appointed to the command of Fort William, where he remained occupied in the cheerful manner described in his letters to Mrs. Dyer, to whose ability, diligence, and warm affection, I am indebted for the facility and fidelity with which the preceding part of Colonel Harris's life has been detailed.

But his philosophy was about to be put to a disagreeable trial by his promotion to the rank of Major-General. All his life looking forward to

quiet and comfortable retirement for his latter days, "it was (to use his own words) only the great advantage likely to accrue to my children and some few friends, that could have brought me to Calcutta, and to have those prospects cut off by a rank that will probably do no one good, may be allowed a trial of our fortitude. Record it then, our historian, that we are enabled to wait the event with due resignation, and even to look forward to its consequences rather as a general than an individual concern. Nay, I am not sure, but to some of us the greatest disappointment will be to stay. Having done our parts in making the exertion, the being forced back to the privacy of a country-life, which we tore ourselves from, will be sensibly felt (as we ought to endeavour to receive all the dispensations of Providence) as a blessing, and be attended with no regret, but as it reduces our powers of assistance to those who may look to us. Is not this talking very philosophically, on descending from seven thousand a-year to three hundred?—the latter the amount of my lieutenant-colonel's pay in England; and whether my generalship may add two or three hundred, if they bring me back, is very uncertain. Indeed, the many political claims on Government, leave the soldier unconnected with parliamentary interest, little chance in the piping times of peace, and those, thank God, I am too good a citizen not to wish may speedily arrive, and last long.

Your god-daughter is all you can wish her, and gives every possible proof that she will one day be as respectable at the head of her family as her mother is and ever has been."

Happily for General Harris and all connected with him, the fear of his being compelled to return home was soon removed by his promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and his appointment to be Commander-in-Chief at Madras, with a seat in the Council. Upon this Mrs. Dyer observes in her Journal:—

"As these appointments will infallibly enable him to fulfil all his parental and philanthropic purposes, I flatter myself I may be permitted to behold my heart's best treasures in this world; but should the Omnipotent decree otherwise, I have the consolation to believe I shall live in their kind remembrance. And if the events I have recorded in these pages are permitted to be the means of stimulating my dear children to virtue, and of deterring them from vice—if the letters in answer to my dearest Nancy's queries preserve them from errors in matters of faith—if those to your uncle Thomas conduce to the constant practice of rational and sincere piety and morality, I shall not have lived in vain.

"May ye, my dear children, inherit the virtues of your parents—may those virtues ever live and be remembered by you, that the name of Harris may be respectable to the latest posterity.

"And now, with the utmost satisfaction, I resign my post of historiographer and biographer to one not only well qualified to be my successor, but who, I hope and trust, will enjoy the advantages of health and ease long, very long, steady nerves, and good spirits, to mark and remark occurrences as they arise.

"To me some of these desirable requisites were wanting long ere I began thus reviewing life's eventful page. It was your dear father's wish I should attempt it, though little did he or I think then, that our dear daughter would put the finishing hand to it."

If the narrative were to close here, enough has been already written to prove that General Harris was a man of generous affections, high courage, and sound understanding; he had, moreover, shown, from his earliest years, a calmness of temper, which enabled him to meet all temptations and dangers with unyielding firmness. These qualities, graced as they were in his intercourse with the world by much personal courtesy, were greatly enhanced to his family and friends by the constant exercise of an affectionate, grateful, and pious heart.

From this period of his life he is to be seen in a wider sphere of action, and to be estimated for his conduct, whilst holding high command in the King's and East India Company's service.

In the month of January, 1797, he received at Calcutta the unexpected intelligence of his appointment to command the army of Madras, with a seat in the Council, and the rank of Lieutenant-General; he accordingly proceeded, with all practicable expedition, to Madras, and entered upon his duties as Commander-in-Chief in the following month.

After a short experience of his position in the Council at Madras, he felt that the military patronage was so entirely in the hands of the civil government, as to be detrimental to the public service; he therefore discharged an indispensable but painful duty in claiming the right of primary recommendation of military officers for regimental and other services, which had no political or civil character. The Court of Directors thought his representations reasonable, and determined that several of the military appointments which he had specified might be properly transferred to the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, who had the best means of appreciating the merits and qualities of those under his immediate authority. The officers of the Madras army were hence indebted to Lord Harris for the better opportunities which their chief has since enjoyed of recommending and rewarding them.

CHAPTER XII.

Succeeds to the charge of the civil government of Madras—Lord Mornington arrives as Governor-General of India, and sends orders from Calcutta for assembling the Madras army to defend the Company's territories against the designs of Tippoo and the French—Consternation created at Madras by this order—Narrative of the measures adopted by General Harris in execution of Lord Mornington's orders.

SCARCELY had a year elapsed in his exercise of the duties of Commander-in-Chief, when General Harris was appointed to take charge of the civil government of Madras, and in February, 1798, he succeeded to the President's chair.

Whilst he was in the discharge of the united duties of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, the Earl of Mornington arrived in Madras roads as Governor-General of India, on the 22nd of May, 1798,—a day ever to be remembered in the annals of British India, because we date from it a new and splendid æra in our history.

Being then private secretary to General Harris, I was directed by him to proceed on board the *Sybille* to congratulate the Governor-General on his arrival, and during his residence at Madras his Lordship permitted me to have daily intercourse with him. I mention this circumstance here, that the reader may know that I had ample

opportunities of becoming intimately acquainted with the progress of the matters I have undertaken to relate, and as the proof of my disposition to profit by these opportunities, I insert in the Appendix the noble earl's own representation of the manner in which I was then employed.

I cannot, however, refer to Lord Mornington's letter, without expressing the pride I feel in the commendation his Lordship was pleased to confer on me—conferred, too, entirely without my knowledge at the time, and for nearly forty years afterwards; for until his Lordship's correspondence during his administration in India was recently published by Mr. Montgomery Martin, I knew nothing of Lord Mornington's letter, of July, 1798, to Lord Clive. It is impossible for me, however, not now to feel, and it would ill become me not to acknowledge, that I owe to that letter much of the good fortune which has attended my own course of public service. But the sentiments of admiration which I have often expressed of Lord Wellesley's Indian administration, in the House of Commons, at the Court of Proprietors, and in later times in Minutes written whilst I was Governor of Madras, proceeded from a deep sense of the inestimable value and importance of the services which his Lordship rendered to the Company and the nation during his brilliant career as Governor-General, and not from the overflowings of personal gratitude.

In this long interval of time I have never forgot the impression made upon me by the dignified manner in which his Lordship conducted, and the kind temper in which he terminated, though unsuccessfully, his negotiation with the Nabob of the Carnatic, referred to in that letter to Lord Clive, in July, 1798. The report which I made of this to General Harris confirmed all his own impressions of the high qualities which afterwards shone with such lustre in the career of the noble earl; and the confidence which this inspired in the mind of General Harris was soon called into active exercise in the important affairs described in the following correspondence:—

(Secret.) "*Fort William, 9th June*, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"Although I imagine that the enclosed proclamation must have reached you, I think it most advisable to transmit a copy of it to you. There seems to be so little doubt that the proclamation really was published at the Mauritius, that it must become a matter of serious discussion between this Government and Tippoo. How such a discussion may terminate, it is impossible to say; perhaps the result of it may be to prove that M. Malartie has exaggerated, or wholly misrepresented the intentions of Tippoo: but, on the other hand, if Tippoo should choose to avow the objects of his embassy to have been such as are

described in the proclamation, the consequences may be very serious, and may ultimately involve us in the calamity of war. I wish you to be apprised of my apprehensions on this subject, and to prepare your mind for the possible event. You will, therefore, turn your attention to the means of collecting a force, if necessity should unfortunately require it; but it is not my desire that you should proceed to take any public steps towards the assembling of the army, before you receive some further intimation from me.

I am, &c.,

MORNINGTON."

"*To Lieutenant-General Harris,*
"*Fort St. George.*"

"*Madras, 23rd June,* 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's favour of the 9th is just arrived. Sir Hugh Christian sent the proclamation to this Government by the same opportunity as to yours, and we had the honour to forward your Lordship our answer to Sir Hugh the 7th instant.

"For my own part, I have no doubt (as matters now stand with the French) but that Tippoo will explain away our just grounds of complaint, although convinced he has committed himself to the full extent of the proclamation.

"His inveteracy to us will end only with his

life, and he will always seize any opportunity that offers to annoy us; but notwithstanding this, and that the political circumstances of India are now much in our favour, it perhaps still remains matter of serious consideration whether, in our very great want of money, and the effect our being engaged in war in this country may have on the affairs of Europe, it would not be better that he should be allowed to make the amende honorable, if he be so inclined, than that we should avail ourselves of the error he has run into, and endeavour to punish him for his insolence. On my part, your Lordship may depend on my following your instructions most implicitly, in respect of my secresy on this point, and until I hear further from you, I shall only quietly move a battalion or two towards the point of assembly, and one of which was predetermined for the place it will now go to. The 36th Regiment might move from Pondicherry to Arnee, as we have in the latter unoccupied barracks for Europeans; but for this I must wait Sir Alured Clarke's final determination on that corps. A supply of grain to our garrisons is actually in forwardness according to regulation, and it will be very easy to make additions when necessary without any suspicions arising. It was very pleasing to hear that your Lordship has some cash to send us; but it is necessary you should understand that the whole mentioned will not more than make up

our known deficiency to the end of September, and our debts are so injurious to our credit, that until something is done in liquidation of them, we cannot expect to raise a rupee by loan.

"I have taken up more of your Lordship's time than I intended; but the friendly confidence you honoured me with during the pleasant visit you made us, has left such an impression on my mind, that you have my thoughts as they rise without disguise, or the least fear of misconstruction. Mrs. Harris, my daughter, and Mr. Lushington, join in kind and respectful remembrances with

My dear Lord, Yours, &c.,
GEORGE HARRIS."

"*The Earl of Mornington.*"

(Secret.) To Lieut.-Gen. HARRIS.

"My dear Sir,

"You have, before this time, received my letter, enclosing M. Malartie's proclamation, and advising you of the probability of my being under the necessity of making a serious representation to Tippoo Sultaun on that subject. I now take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with my final determination. I mean to call upon the Allies without delay, and to assemble the army of the coast with all possible expedition. You will receive my public instructions in the course of a few days. Until you have received them, it will

not be proper to take any public steps for the assembling of the army, but whatever can be done without a disclosure of the ultimate object, I authorize you to do immediately, intending to apprise you by this letter, that *it is my positive resolution to assemble the army upon the coast.* I wish to receive from you, by express, a state of the force which you can put in motion immediately, and within what time you can make any large additions to it.

"By the same express, you will also have the goodness to inform me what station you deem the best for assembling a force, with a view of marching directly to Seringapatam, and at what period the army must move for that purpose, so as to reach Seringapatam before the coast of Malabar shall become safe for the approach of any naval force. I will send you, as soon as possible, the largest supply in specie which I can procure.

"If you could despatch your answer to my questions by any fast-sailing vessel, and could send with your answers any intelligent officer who might be capable of entering into all the details of your force, of the seasons, and all other circumstances connected with the object of striking a sudden blow against Tippoo, before he can receive any foreign aid, you would greatly assist me in the arrangement of my measures, upon this serious occasion.

"You may rely on my unremitting attention

to whatever communications you may make to me, and upon my most cordial support in all your exertions. You will, of course, feel the absolute necessity of keeping the contents of this letter secret.

I am, &c.,

MORNINGTON."

Upon the receipt of this important letfer, General Harris proceeded without a moment's delay in the execution of the different measures required. By the post of that day, I wrote, by his desire, to Major Beatson, the officer he thought most capable of affording all the information required by Lord Mornington, the following letter.

"*Fort George, July* 3, 1798.

"Dear Beatson,

"I am directed by General Harris to desire you will proceed to Masulipatam with all practicable expedition, and be in readiness to embark on a ship which will call for you at that port. It will bring instructions for your guidance in a secret service on which you are to be employed, that will not be unpleasant to you. The General recommends that you take with you all papers and maps that can give information relative to the Peninsula, and that you keep this communication entirely secret.

Ever yours, sincerely,

S. R. LUSHINGTON."

After an anxious night of meditation upon the probable consequences of Lord Mornington's momentous communication, General Harris sent me with the earl's letter to Mr. J. Webbe, the chief secretary, that the matter might be confidentially brought before the next council board.

As I had enjoyed many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the great attainments of this extraordinary man, and knew with what deference his opinions were regarded in the settlement, I was dismayed by the expressions of astonishment and alarm which this communication called forth from Mr. Webbe, which were too remarkable to be ever forgot by me.

Our unprepared state for war, in the absence of a large portion of our troops in the Eastern Islands; our empty treasury, and bankrupt credit at Madras; all the horrors of Hyder's merciless invasion of the Carnatic, of Tippoo's sanguinary destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment, Sir Hector Munro's disgraceful retreat to Madras, and the first failure of Lord Cornwallis against Seringapatam, rushed at once into Mr. Webbe's mind, after reading Lord Mornington's letter, and he exclaimed with bitterness and grief, "I can anticipate nothing but a return of shocking disasters from a premature attack upon Tippoo in our present disabled condition, and the impeachment of Lord Mornington for his temerity*."

* I have recently heard an anecdote so illustrative of the able

When I reported this interview to General Harris, he was much embarrassed, fearing that the two Members of Council, who were naturally timid men, would take their tone from the ascendant mind of the Chief Secretary; and being himself vested only with a temporary authority, he foresaw great difficulty in executing Lord Mornington's wishes with promptitude and success. After a little pause, however, he said, "I am too old a soldier not to know that my own course is quite clear: I will follow orders to the utmost limit of my means, and leave the issue in higher hands."

His own subsequent communication with Mr. Webbe, and with the council, entirely confirmed these anticipations, and he therefore desired the Chief Secretary to state his opinions in writing, that he might forward the paper to Lord Mornington. In the mean time the following letter was prepared to be sent to the earl:—

and fearless character of Mr. Webbe, that it deserves to be mentioned.

The numerous friends and admirers of this distinguished man, besides erecting a public monument to his memory, published a very large engraving of his portrait, done by Hickey at Madras, which was not remarkable for the beauty of the garb in which it was dressed. One of these prints is in the dining-room of the Duke of Wellington at Strathfieldsaye, and attracted the curiosity of a lady visitor, who asked the duke "who that man with such a neckcloth and coat was meant for?" His Grace replied, "That man was one of the ablest I ever knew, and what is more, one of the honestest."

"*Madras, 6th July*, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"I received your Lordship's favour of the 20th ultimo late on Tuesday evening, the 3rd instant, and I must confess that the momentous importance and magnitude of the subject created reflections which for the time totally absorbed every other consideration. Adverting, however, to your Lordship's wish of speedy communication, my first step was to countermand the *Bombay* frigate, on the eve of sailing as convoy to a transport with stores for the fleet, and which the *Victorious* took care of.

"I then directed my thoughts to find such a description of person as your Lordship was desirous should accompany my answer, and I did not hesitate in fixing on Major Beatson as particularly qualified to give your Lordship the fullest satisfaction on every point that you may refer to his judgment. An express was immediately dispatched to him at Ellore with directions to repair to Masulipatam with all possible expedition, where a vessel would touch for him with further instructions, apprising him that for the present he had only to take all his papers with him that could be useful in giving information respecting the Peninsula, and to keep the communication made to him absolutely secret.

"Having effected these two points, it was too late to take any further steps that evening, more

particularly as the official people I wanted had, I found, left the Fort about the time your Lordship's letter was received.

"Revolving the subject in my mind most part of the night, the magnitude of the difficulties to be encountered in an attempt to strike a sudden blow against Tippoo, before he can receive any foreign aid by the cessation of the monsoon on the other coast, occurred to me so forcibly, and has by subsequent reflection become so deeply impressed upon my mind, that I should think myself culpable, if I did not mention my thoughts on the subject, even though your Lordship had not requested information from me. Although the same points have unquestionably occurred to your Lordship, yet the practical experience of them may readily be supposed to have made stronger impressions on my mind than any that could have been conveyed by a different way. The dilatoriness, indecision, and cowardice of our allies are beyond belief to those who have not been eye-witness to these qualities in them, and there is a moral assurance that not one of them will take the field, or be of the least use to us, even admitting that their own situation presented no obstacle to their joining us, until we have secured a position to cover their advance, or gained a decided advantage over Tippoo.

"Thus they acted with Lord Cornwallis, and as that conduct was governed by principles which

have undergone no change, a repetition of it must be expected. From these data, it is to be argued that any sudden blow must proceed entirely from ourselves, and this cannot, I conceive, be attempted without a very large reinforcement from Bengal, aided by the Bombay army. When the reinforcement from your presidency could join us I need not speak of; but the Bombay army could not begin to assemble until the cessation of the monsoon on the other coast, the period at which I understand your Lordship had hoped the important object in view would be in an advanced state of accomplishment. The last is a difficulty that might, perhaps, be rendered of less importance by your Lordship's exertions in dispatching a more ample force from Bengal; but the difficulties which press us here are, I fear, insuperable. Draft and carriage cattle, even for the defensive army, in Statement No. 1, cannot be collected to enable us to do more than merely to reach the Barrahmahal before the monsoon in October, or to repel the incursion of an enemy.

"No. 2, from Mr. Cockburn, the best-informed man, perhaps, in India on the subject, fixes nearly the same period even for the equipment of the defensive army; but such a force as shall be capable of undertaking the siege of Seringapatam, with a reasonable prospect of success, could not, in all probability, reach the place before the 1st of February.

"The last point I have to observe on is certainly the most material,—the feeding of the army when it has arrived at the point we wish. This difficulty obliged Lord Cornwallis to relinquish the idea of besieging Seringapatam the first time he marched against it; and but for the almost despaired-of co-operation of the Mahrattas, it would have been doubtful whether he would have ever been able to return to it again.

"These considerations, the little dependence to be placed in our allies, and the facility of communication with the Bombay army by Palagautcherry, joined to the importance of possessing the Coimbatoor country, incline me at present to be of opinion that when we engage in this great undertaking, it will be advisable to do it to the southward, by attempting the Caverripooram Pass; but this point, and the season for the junction of the armies of the different coasts, and for the final enterprise; how far the aid of the Nizam and Mahrattas, or one or other, may be essential to our success in the attack? whether it may be practicable to subsist our army during the siege without the assistance of those native powers? what posts should be secured for magazines, so as to have the shortest and most secure line of communication by which to receive supplies?—and the grand subject of brinjarries, whether the native powers assist us or not? are considerations on

which there is not now any time for me to enlarge further, but on which, I can with confidence refer your Lordship to Major Beatson for solid information. Your Lordship will also find great assistance from Lieutenant Colonel Scott; and on the subject of feeding and carriage, I know no one who can give you more correct information than Captain Sandys, or on whom more dependence can be placed for honest execution of orders in that line. Notwithstanding, however, the shortness of time and the aid your Lordship will otherwise have from the practical knowledge of the three gentlemen I have named, I should have felt it incumbent on me to have stated my sentiments in a more detailed and connected manner, on a subject of such moment to the national interests, if your Lordship had not the advantage of Sir Alured's complete knowledge of this army, and the resources of the Carnatic. Upon the latter subject, your Lordship is also perfectly informed from the pressing representations of this government, and the letter I had before the pleasure to write to you, and both must have convinced you that the whole expense of the war must be borne by your presidency.

"Your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to send the *Bombay* back immediately with treasure; if not, I think it necessary to mention that we had intended to send her for Bombay when the season for making a favourable passage should

arrive, in consequence of a communication from Mr. Duncan, representing how much they required her assistance on that coast.

"Now, my dear Lord, having taken such a range of the subject as I trust you will not be displeased with receiving, I have only to assure you, that, however I may think it right to point out difficulties, there can be none in your orders that it may be my part to execute, which I shall not cheerfully and zealously attempt to overcome. I should not, however, close this letter without informing your Lordship that I have apprized Admiral Rainier of the importance of preventing any communication of the French with the Malabar coast.

"The various subjects which press upon the mind in deliberating upon this serious undertaking, and the urgent necessity of a prompt communication, render it far from improbable but that some points may have been imperfectly stated; if, however, upon a more mature consideration any inaccuracy shall appear to have crept in, your Lordship may be assured that I shall have candour immediately to acknowledge and correct the error.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEORGE HARRIS.

"P. S. For your Lordship's further information, I send Colonel Close's answers to the questions I put to him connected with this

subject, to which I have subjoined such observations as have appeared to me necessary."

No. 1.

Force which it is supposed might be drawn together at a convenient situation in the Carnatic.

Cavalry .	19th Reg. of Dragoons, effective, R. F. . . .	380	
	25th Reg. ditto . .	370	
	1st Native Regiment . .	400	
	2nd ditto ditto . .	400	
	3rd ditto ditto . . .	400	
	4th ditto ditto . .	400	
			2,350
Artillery .	1st Battalion	255	
	2nd ditto	243	
			498
European Infantry.	12th Regiment . . .	565	
	36th ditto	518	
	73rd ditto	681	
	74th ditto	682	
			2,446
Native Infantry .	1st Battalion, 1st Regiment .	900	
	2nd ditto 2nd ditto .	950	
	2nd ditto 5th ditto . .	950	
	1st ditto 6th ditto .	950	
	2nd ditto 7th ditto . .	950	
	2nd ditto 9th ditto .	650	
	1st ditto 12th ditto . .	600	
	2nd ditto ditto . .	900	
			6,850
Gun Lascars .	30 Companies, effective, R. F.	1500	
Native Pioneers .	5 ditto	500	
			2,000

ABSTRACT.

Total Europeans . .	3,694
Ditto Natives . .	10,450
Grand Total	14,144

N.B. This arrangement leaves a company of artillery with its complement of gun lascars in the Northern Circars. The additional privates attached to each of the native battalions inserted above it is supposed may be formed into companies, and stationed at Vellore and Ambore. A detachment for Tyagar may be furnished from the Barrahmahal.

No details are taken for the field from the Northern Circars, the Barrahmahal, or the southern division, or Ceylon. It is not impossible, however, but circumstances may allow of a small force being collected from those quarters. From the troops at present in the Barrahmahal and Salem district, it is imagined that Lieutenant Colonel Read, assisted by a few cavalry, might be able to form a little detachment, to be employed along the frontier as occasion might require.

No. 2.

Respecting the Supply of Draught and Carriage Cattle, from Mr. Cockburn.

The smallest number of cattle required for the equipment of 12,500 men, including the camp

equipage, ordnance, and provision departments, must be 4,000 draught, and 16,000 carriage bullocks. This includes carriage for forty days' rice and sixty days' arrack for Europeans, and forty days' rice for the native fighting men, besides forty days' grain for 1,200 horses.

The best means of making the provision is by agency, on the footing established by Lord Cornwallis, or near it. I conclude the whole number may be collected within two months from the date of making advances for the provision—at farthest in two and a half, everything complete. An advance of 12,000 pgs. will be required for the draught, and 32,000 for the carriage—in all 44,000 pgs., which is afterwards stopped out of their hire. The month's hire of the draught, including maestries and drivers . 8,900

Of the carriage . . 25,800

34,700 pgs.

N.B. The cattle must be kept up at least four months to repay the advance.

This inclusive of the salaries of the officers employed in the department. It will expedite the provision to direct the quarter-masters of corps to supply the cattle of their corps, and the grain agents to find cattle for the carriage of their grain, which would leave the supply of the grand department only to the agent.

Of course the troops will march to the centre from the south and north: it will be easy to draw a proportion of the supply from each quarter to march with the several detachments, which will expedite the general provision.

No. 3.

Queries to Colonel Close; his Answers, and the Observations of General Harris.

1. A state of the force which can be put in motion immediately.

The paper delivered in yesterday shows the force that could be assembled immediately. It might rendezvous at Walahajabad, and be collected there in the space of six weeks. It is difficult to say when it could be put in motion, as much would depend on the manner in which it was to be employed. The amount of its equipment would turn upon the objects it was destined to accomplish, and the time requisite for putting it in a state capable to move depend upon the amount of its equipment. It is presumed, however, that no force which could be collected for field service under this presidency could be equal to more than defensive operations. For such a system of action it would require a field-train of about 50 pieces, and conveyance for provisions for at least that number of days.

General Harris's Observations upon Colonel Close's Opinions.

This differs materially from Mr. Cockburn's statement as to the period in which cattle

could be collected for the defensive army. Your Lordship will observe from my letter, that I decidedly incline to Mr. Cockburn's opinion.

This equipment would require about 25,000 bullocks, and it is imagined these might be collected by the beginning of the year, and not before.

2. Within what time certain additions can be made to it, so as to form a large army.

General Harris's Observation.

An augmentation might be made to the native infantry from the Northern Circars, if it was resolved their places should be supplied by detachments from the reinforcements of native troops to be sent from Bengal in their march from Calcutta to join the coast army. This, however, is the only arrangement which can be made for drawing any part of the forces from the Northern Circars, without leaving the garrisons there in a defenceless state.

It would not be possible to add materially to the native force at present under this presidency in an emergency. Some of our native battalions are at present incomplete. In case of war, we should not be able to procure recruits in numbers sufficient to keep the corps in the field complete.

3. What station is the best for assembling an army with a view of marching directly to Seringapatam?

This question answered in reply to question No. 1. Whatever the plan of operations, Walahajabad would be found the most convenient situation for assembling an army which would, if necessary, draw almost the whole of its equipments from the presidency. It is presumed that an army destined against the enemy's capital should leave the Carnatic

4. At what period should the army march for that purpose?

General Harris's Opinion.

If the reinforcements from Bengal could arrive in time,

the whole should, if possible, march from the place of rendezvous, so as to arrive in the Barrahmahal before the commencement of the monsoon, which they would then escape; they might then possibly be in motion in the enemy's country by the 1st of January, though not very probably.

immediately after the monsoon, so as, if possible, to appear before the place by the beginning of February. The Cavery at Seringapatam fills generally in the month of May.

From Mr. Josiah Webbe, Secretary to the Government of Madras.

"*6th July*, 1798.

MEMORANDUM for General Harris, in consequence of his late conversation upon the possibility of an early rupture with Tippoo Sultaun.

"That Mons. Malartie's proclamation is genuine I have no doubt, because it is a termination perfectly consistent with an intrigue which, from respectable intelligence at the time, there was reason to believe on foot previous to the departure of his ambassadors for the Mauritius; but whether we should take measures at this period for punishing or preventing the effect of this negotiation, is the most momentous question which can be proposed in this place. Upon this question it is certainly my duty to state my ideas, but the shortness of time does not admit of any arrangement.

"As all questions of national war should, I suppose, be determined by the national interests,

it is natural to advert to the state in which India was placed by the Treaty of Seringapatam, because that state was considered, at the time we had the means of changing it, as most advantageous to the British interests. The principle of our policy then was the preservation of Tippoo as a power of India, and the balance between him, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, by our superior influence and force. Whether this principle has been superseded by other notions in Europe I know not, but whether any attempt can now be made to introduce a new order of things, without a greater danger of evil than a chance of good, I doubt.

"Tippoo, if he has not advanced in actual strength, has certainly the vantage ground,—the three other powers have receded from the condition they were in at the Treaty of Seringapatam. The shock which the balance between the Nizam and the Mahrattas sustained from the warfare that was allowed to terminate in the Treaty of Kurdlah has driven him from his position, and the distractions which have since prevailed at Poonah incapacitate them from holding their ordinary sphere, while the force of the English is checked and retarded by the pressure of the French war.

"In the discussions which took place upon the political state of India, when the expedition against Manilla was under contemplation, it was,

I believe, acknowledged that the confusion at that time in the Mahratta empire was such as to render any exertion of their strength improbable, or at least not formidable. The subsequent confinement of Nana Furnanees, the eccentric irregularity of young Scindiah, and the want of power in the Peishwah, certainly corroborated that notion, which, if it then left us little to apprehend from their enmity, can now give us little to expect from their friendship. The only respectable part of the Nizam's force is under the uncontrolled command of the French party; that influence has increased, and whether our inertion during the contest between his Highness and the Mahrattas may have alienated the disposition which his minister once manifested towards ours, whether it is the natural consequence of a prevailing interest inimical to us, we have much reason, from Captain Kirkpatrick's late correspondence, to apprehend that our weight at Hydrabad is not great. The Nizam's irregular troops proved, during the last war, one of our serious impediments; his efficient force could hardly be employed—certainly not trusted under the command of Perron. In respect to ourselves, a very large portion of the coast army is detached, our means of resource curtailed by the war in Europe, and our credit in this country, at least upon this coast, bankrupt. If, therefore, with all the advantages we possessed in the year 1790, with the

hearty, and effectual co-operation of the Mahrattas, and with the friendship of the Nizam, our operations against Tippoo were not made successful without the greatest difficulty, I am fearful that, under the general change of circumstances which I have mentioned, and which I believe to be correct, an attack upon him now is more likely to end in discomfiture than victory.

"But let us descend to more particular considerations. Although we have every reason to be satisfied that Tippoo's army has been kept in a state efficient and prepared to meet the events which there might be reason to expect from the general appearance of a convulsion throughout India; yet in the same discussions on the subject of the Manilla expedition, both Sir J. Shore and Lord Hobart were of opinion that he was not likely to hazard a rupture, without a very large re-inforcement from the French. Whatever may be the object of Tippoo's embassy to the Mauritius, or whatever may be the event of it in Europe, the late intelligence from the islands, which leaves us no room to doubt that the military have been sent to France, and the French marine dispersed, satisfies me that no immediate co-operation can take place, and consequently that no rupture is to be apprehended, but by our own provocation.

"This argument I urge, in the perfect conviction that, during this unprecedented contest in

Europe, peace in India is indispensably necessary, and that it ought not to be risked without the prospect of positive advantage. If, however, it should be argued, that this very conjunction of circumstances, which I have mentioned, should impel us to make an immediate effort against Tippoo, I answer, that all our former united and unexampled exertions were made against Tippoo, single and unsupported by the French; but single and unsupported as he was, except by the natural obstacles which oppose our progress, the exertions of the allies were only successful. For this I refer to the chance by which Bangalore fell, to the condition of Lord Cornwallis's army before the junction of the Mahrattas in May, 1791, to the difficulty with which the battering train was advanced to Seringapatam in the second campaign, to the condition of the Bombay army, and to the state in which our own army returned after the conclusion of peace. With the war well advanced, with our preparations and arrangements on foot for twelve months before, and with such a combined alliance as may be now despaired of, it still cost Lord Cornwallis two campaigns before he could besiege Seringapatam.

"From the intrigues at Seringapatam, and the consequent embassy to the Isle of France, I have no doubt that the French emissaries were employed in persuading Tippoo to hostilities with us, under promises of immediate assistance. This

the Sultan appears to have considered insufficient ground to provoke a war, but if he should be provoked to a war by us, I conceive there would be a material difference of circumstances; for though the French might find great difficulty in persuading him to war, from the great difficulty of furnishing the force he requires, yet if he should be absolutely plunged into a war, they would find it easily practicable to foment and keep it alive. Hostility with Tippoo, if it should be known before the conclusion of peace, would inevitably tend to protract the war in Europe, or even to revive it, if peace should have been made. The French, despairing perhaps of any successful attempt upon England itself, would leave nothing unattempted to subvert, or at least curtail, our Indian empire. This argument is of the more force, because a very small increase of French soldiers is a very material addition to Tippoo's strength.

"In the event of hostility, I take it for granted the object will be to make it a war of alliance against Tippoo. I doubt that it is practicable to obtain the assistance of the Mahrattas; the present disunion of the chiefs renders a hearty co-operation impossible. The assistance of any party, if even it could be persuaded to risk the danger of absence from its own territories, might have the natural effect of throwing its adversaries into the opposite scale. If such an event should

take place, the Mahrattas would remain as they now are—balanced against each other—while Tippoo, freed from the apprehension of their united force, would be at liberty to employ his whole cavalry against us. It is known to every officer in the field, that during the last war, the Nizam's cavalry were a heavy incumbrance to us, and if, notwithstanding the apparent change in Azim ul Omrah's dispositions towards us, we should be disposed to rely on the fidelity of his Royal Highness's infantry under the command of M. Perron, it is not extravagant to anticipate an event which has already happened,—that marching into the Mysore country with his Highness in alliance, we were compelled to march back again with his Highness in alliance against us. In respect both to the Mahrattas and the Nizam, I think there is no reasonable ground to expect effectual assistance from either, until we should strike some signal blow. Neither of them were hearty in the cause during the last war before the fall of Bangalore.

"Not to dwell upon the possible predicament in which we should be placed by a refusal of the allies to execute their engagements, let us look to our own means of equipping a force sufficient to support a remonstrance to Tippoo upon his embassy to Mons. Malartie. It must never be forgotten that the army under General Medows, in the month of November, 1790, consisted of about

5,500 European, and 18,400 native, seasoned men, and that even this army was augmented by troops from Bengal before it marched against Bangalore. By the returns you have now received, a body of about 14,000 men can be drawn together, including Lascars and pioneers, a force so inadequate to an offensive war, that you could not venture to quit the Carnatic. From Ceylon, you could draw no reinforcements, but, on the contrary, might be called upon to increase the force on that island, in the event of our army invading the Mysore country. The whole reinforcement must be sent from Bengal; of what extent it could be, we have no means of judging, but it is obvious that it must be so large, as to place its arrival here at a very remote distance. The superiority of Tippoo in cavalry, and the greater rapidity with which he moves, would render it impracticable to proceed to the attack of Seringapatam without establishing a systematic chain of posts for depôts of stores and provisions. That he has endeavoured to frustrate this, is evident from his policy in the destruction of Oosoor and Bangalore, and in making Seringapatam his only and principal fortification. By the former, it is his intention to increase the difficulty of our approach by lengthening the line of our operations, and by the latter, to oppose such impediments as to make the capture of Seringapatam impracticable in the course of one campaign. The Cau-

verypooram Pass is yet unexplored, but I understand that the route from thence to Seringapatam lies through a barren country, so much interspersed with jungle, as to be extremely adverse to the march of an army. The Guzilhutty Pass is no longer thought of; as nothing, therefore, short of the capture of Seringapatam can justly be considered as striking an effectual blow against Tippoo, the achievement of any immediate success appears to me to be utterly impracticable.

"This idea, then, of striking an immediate blow being abandoned, let us look to the slow and regular equipment of an army for the invasion of Mysore. The different corps could, I believe, be assembled at Wallajahbad in about two months from the time of their being ordered to march. The equipment of bullocks for the army, with its train of field artillery, could not, according to my estimation, be accomplished before the month of January, but in respect to a train of battering guns sufficient for the siege of Seringapatam, I can form no motion, nor do I believe Mr. Cockburn can, of the time when it could be furnished with cattle. This period of the season (January) is, by the experience of Lord Cornwallis's campaign, too late for the establishment of a depôt at Bangalore and the siege of Seringapatam in the same season, for, though we should be able to put Bangalore in a state to admit of its becoming a depôt, we could not avoid being overtaken at

Seringapatam by the monsoon, which sets in in May. Hence the necessity of a second season, and probably of a second equipment of bullocks, before an efficient army could invest Seringapatam. Supposing it, however, there, and joined by the Bombay army (the difficulty of which it is here unnecessary to consider), I doubt whether there are any well-grounded expectations that they could feed themselves. The experience of Lord Cornwallis's army proves that we were unable to supply ourselves, or to open our rear for the admission of brinjarries, until we had been joined by the Mahratta army, and the whole country embraced.

"At present, there is no grain at Arnee or Vellore, and, I believe, no considerable quantity could be stored in the forts of the Barrahmahal before the harvests of November. The vessels which bring grain from the northern ports and from Bengal do not arrive here before the months of September and October.

"Upon the whole, there are sufficient grounds for concluding that the whole of the coast army which could be assembled would be incapable of offensive operations, and that they could not be put in motion before the month of January. How far, and at what period, they may be in a condition to make a serious attack upon Tippoo, must depend upon the extent and time of reinforcements from Bengal; and as nothing of con-

sequence could be undertaken without them, the time of our making any serious impression must be proportionably delayed.

"Meanwhile the movement of our troops and military preparations could not escape the vigilance of Tippoo; his resources are always more prompt than our own, and, as great part of his army is said to be in a state of field equipment, our attempt to strike a blow at him is likely to produce an invasion of the Carnatic before we are in a situation to resist him, for, as Tippoo can, in my opinion, have nothing to apprehend from the Mahrattas, his whole attention will be directed to us. A comparison between his own and his father's wars, with the late experience of his own misfortunes, has taught him that our strength depends upon our supplies. The crops of the Barrahmahal would be his first object, and the consequences of such a policy, which he has manifested by the demolition of Bangalore and Oosoor, might fix the war in the Carnatic, until, by the consumption of our supplies, and the failure of our resources, we should be compelled to accept his terms of peace.

"When the war of 1790 begun, the funded debt of this Presidency was 17 lacs of pagodas, the Company's credit high, and the rate of interest low. Very large subscriptions were in consequence made within the course of a few days to a 12 per cent. loan; large supplies of dollars,

brought hither in the Canton ships, and intended for the China investment, were converted to the purposes of the war, and immense remittances were made from Bengal, as well in specie as by bills. At present, the funded debt of this Presidency is 51 lacs of pagodas, the Company's credit so low, that their 8 per cent. paper bears a discount of 18 and 20 per cent., and the scarcity of money so great, that their 12 per cent. bonds do not pass but at a discount of 4 per cent. Every mode has been tried without effect to raise money at this Presidency; our only means of supply is from Bengal. The bills which we have in consequence been long compelled to substitute for ready-money payments have overstocked the market, and consequently pass at a discount. After repeated and urgent applications for money, we have been disappointed for want of funds in Bengal, and at this very moment, when the expenses of the military establishment for the ensuing months cannot be provided for without specie from thence, the only sum which we can confidently expect is, as I understand, immaterial in comparison with our wants.

"The deficit in the present resources of this Government is at least 18 lacs of pagodas; the expense of an army of 14,000 men in the field, and the expense of providing carriage for them, is 34,700 pagodas per month.

"Nothing can be more urgent than our re-

presentations to Bengal upon the state of our finances, except the necessities which produce them. It is a fact that, without assistance in money from thence, our military expenses upon the peace establishment cannot be provided for beyond the month of September; I am afraid, therefore, that far from being in a state to equip an army for the field, we shall scarcely have the means of marching the different corps to Wallajahbad, while the state of the treasury renders it utterly impracticable to make any suitable advance for draught and carriage cattle.

"I have not studied to exaggerate any part of this memorandum; but seeing that our resources have, by the mere operation of the war in Europe, been reduced to a state of the greatest embarrassment, and having no hope of effectual relief but in peace, I can anticipate none but the most baneful consequences from a war with Tippoo. If this war is to be a vindication of our national rights, it is clear that we cannot undertake it in less than six months, and this delay, with a reference to our national interests, may probably admit of its being postponed till we attain sufficient strength to prosecute it with vigour. But if war is inevitable, and the present are judged the most advantageous circumstances under which it can commence, I fear that our situation is bad beyond the hope of remedy."

"This memorandum only reaches to that

period at which your military inquiries commence; they will require no less serious reflection, and must occupy the thoughts of those who are to direct, as well as of those who are to execute, the operations of the war. For myself, I ought to apologise for the freedom of these opinions, but the desultory manner in which they are stated will acquit me of all premeditated intention to give offence, and time does not admit of any amendment.

J. WEBBE."

When General Harris had read this paper, he came from the council-room to my apartment, and desired me to prepare a postscript to add to his despatch to Lord Mornington, that this fearful document might not go without some qualification to the Governor-General. The following was accordingly added to his letter.

"P.S. I also send a memorandum which I have just received from Mr. Webbe, in consequence of my request that he would state his sentiments in writing upon the possible event of a war with the Sultaun, in consequence of the Mauritius proclamation, and upon the practicability of striking a sudden blow against him before he could receive any foreign aid. From the hurried perusal which I have made of it, I observe that he has taken a partial view of a question of too great magnitude to be decided by *our present*

limited means of knowledge. That he has assumed as a fact, that the choice of peace for some time to come, or of war at the present period, rests with us; not adverting to the probability, if Azim ul Omrah be really disaffected to us, of his hereafter joining Tippoo and the French, and the equal chance of the Mahrattas being induced, when they are able, to unite in the league against us; scarcely noticing the strong circumstance that the islands can now afford him no further aid; passing over the immense benefits that will be secured by success, and the advantage with which we shall enter upon a war, having a perfect knowledge of his country, and possessing a strong chain of posts on our frontiers, and a fruitful country in the rear; and lastly, that the French, at the conclusion of a peace, will possess the desire they now feel of subverting our Indian empire, and that the Sultaun will at that period be fully prepared to assist their purposes, if he should not be now arrested in his progress. These, however, are considerations which belong to your Lordship's better judgment to decide, and I should not have troubled you with the memorandum if I did not feel an anxiety that you should be prepared to meet all the arguments which will be stated with so much virulence by the opposition at home against the author of the war, if, unfortunately, we should be compelled to endure that calamity.

G. H."

General Harris having made up his mind to the course which his duty required him to pursue, employed every means in his power to accelerate the execution of Lord Mornington's instructions, as the following letters and minutes fully explain:—

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"*Madras, July 14th*, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"Having, since the dispatch of my letter to you of the 6th instant, a duplicate of which I have now the pleasure to transmit, very seriously deliberated upon the various topics which it embraced, I have not been able to discover that the necessity of immediate communication occasioned any inaccuracy, though I must confess that if there had been more leisure, I should have adverted to a circumstance which, from the want of it, I omitted to mention—I mean the different views which might be entertained of the Mauritius proclamation, correspondent to the different reports which were made of the circumstances which attended its publication. In my first letter to your Lordship on this subject, I expressed my conviction that Tippoo had committed himself to the full extent of the proclamation. This opinion arose from the united circumstances of two ambassadors from him being present when it was published, his known resentment towards us, and

the great importance which had been attached to the proclamation by Lord Macartney, Sir H. Christian, and Mr. Pringle, all of whom had it in their power to ascertain the circumstances under which it had been published, from the very channel by which they had received it. The information which I subsequently received from the mate of country ship *Greenwich*, and which was communicated by Mr. Lushington to Colonel Wellesley, assigned a very different motive for the proclamation; viz., the desire of M. Malartie to be relieved from some restless spirits who were not particularly attached to the interest of the island, but on the contrary, suspected of favouring the plan of liberating the slaves. Though this intelligence changed entirely the colour of the proclamation, yet as I knew not what degree of credit was due to the author of it, I was unwilling upon such grounds to hazard any opinion in opposition to that I had before stated, particularly when I reflected that by sending this intelligence your Lordship was put in possession of all the grounds upon which any opinion from me could be formed, and that you would probably have additional means of passing a better judgment on the case from the aid of Mr. Pringle's inquiries, and intelligence from other quarters. It may, however, be observed, that if the last explanation of the cause of the proclamation be correct, Tippoo becomes acquitted of any participation in it, and

in respect to the circumstance of his ambassadors being present, when it was published, it may be remarked that an intercourse has long prevailed between him and the French, and from the inquiries I have lately made, I find that vakeels and others were often formerly sent to Pondicherry, where he was supplied (and perhaps since from Mauritius) with stores and various other articles, and that Frenchmen sometimes, though not in any great number, went to Seringapatam from Pondicherry. These considerations, and the certainty that the Sultaun could derive no very material assistance from the small number of men already received from the islands; the little expectation of his receiving from thence a more formidable supply; but above all, the silence of the officers in charge of the frontier garrisons respecting the movement of his troops, and the enclosed intelligence this day received from Salem without anything to contradict it from other quarters, incline me to be of opinion that Tippoo does not meditate immediate hostilities. What effect the knowledge of our preparations may have upon him is yet to be determined; but the apprehension which we have expressed in our public letter, that he might attempt to lay waste the lower part of the Barrahmahal and the Carnatic, has been materially diminished in my mind from a consideration of the causes I have now stated.

"In the meantime, our preparations are going

on with every possible energy consistent with the necessary regard to secresy, which I shall maintain until I am informed from General Floyd that the corps south of the Coleroon are prepared to move across it; and I shall not fail to keep your Lordship constantly advised of their progress, and of the effect which they may appear to have on the enemy. Your Lordship will observe that I have forborne in my present and former letters to offer any opinion upon the political part of this question, and this not from any disposition to withhold my sentiments upon any subject of importance to the national interests, but from a consciousness of my inability to assist your Lordship's judgment. Amidst the trouble of my present situation, it is indeed a great consolation to me that the momentous duty of determining whether we must endure the calamity of war, or remain peaceful, as we now are, does not belong to me, but is entrusted to a person so well qualified to decide it. This remark appears a proper introduction to my reply to that part of your Lordship's letter of the 26th ult., which respects the letter written by this government to Admiral Rainier. It had been so customary at this Presidency to write to the Admiral that the secretary drafted the letter, and we passed it as an ordinary occurrence, without the most distant idea that we were transgressing the strict line of our duty. In inadvertence, therefore, not in any desire of infringing

upon your Lordship's responsibility, this measure originated, and whilst I fully acknowledge the propriety of the public admonition we have received, I cannot but feel gratified by the sentiments which your Lordship has been pleased to express in your private explanation. All the intelligence which I have been able to collect respecting the publication of the proclamation at the Mauritius, and of the conduct of Tippoo's ambassadors during their residence in that island, is contained in No. 2, obtained from the mate of the *Greenwich*, on whose report Mr. Lushington wrote his letter to Colonel Wellesley; if more can be collected I will transmit it. In No. 1, a report from Captain Malcolm, and one from Captain Macleod, your Lordship will find our latest advices respecting the state of Tippoo's force, and of his actual preparations for war. In my letter to your Lordship of the 12th, I suggested to you the expediency of our being authorized to send the French prisoners now here to Calcutta. A strong impression of the inconvenience we should feel by their continuing here in the event of hostilities, induced this recommendation; and in my desire to communicate it to your Lordship as early as possible, the mode which you had proposed through Mr. Wellesley escaped my consideration. I shall now endeavour to freight a ship, and send them to Europe; or rather, I will mention the circumstance to Lord Clive, who will probably have to execute it, as his Lordship's arrival is daily ex-

pected. I have not the honour of being known to him, nor am I even acquainted with his character. If I find him open and candid, I shall have pleasure in the most unreserved communication; at all events, he shall not be led into errors without being warned to the best of my judgment. This morning I received a letter from Admiral Rainier, requesting the *Bombay* frigate might be sent to Trincomalee to go round with the *Centurion* to dock, as this ship is in so bad a state, that she cannot sail with safety alone. I have in consequence again informed him of her despatch to Bengal, and that I would notice his request to your Lordship. Though I imagine your Lordship will have received the substance of the inclosed intelligence, No. 3, respecting the destination of Sir H. Christian's fleet, I think it proper to transmit it to you. It may not be amiss to apprise your Lordship that, in the event of our proceeding to act against Seringapatam, we shall want artillerymen from Bengal, and particularly some good officers; and if we even take the field, supplies of rice and rum will also always be seasonable. Captain Malcolm's report is not yet concluded, although I know that he was engaged in it the greatest part of the night.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord, ever yours,
GEORGE HARRIS."

"*Madras*, 14*th July*, 1798."

"To Major Beatson.

"*Madras*, 21*st July*, 1798.

"Dear Beatson,

"The delay in the frigate's arrival is peculiarly unfortunate, and of equal disappointment to yourself, General Harris, and Lord Mornington. Though the General can hardly bear the thought of your being at Masulipatam in the latter end of next week, yet, as the *Sybille* frigate sails from hence for Calcutta on Thursday morning, he has requested Captain Cooke to touch there, and inquire for you, so that if the *Bombay* frigate should not have arrived before that time, you will be good enough to be in readiness to embark on the *Sybille*.

Yours, sincerely,

(Signed) S. R. Lushington."

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"*Madras*, *July* 22*nd*, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"When your Lordship is informed of our difficulties from the want of money, you will not be surprised that we begin to be very anxious to hear from you on the subject. Yesterday we advertised your ten years' proposal, from not having a better to offer; but much cannot be expected from it, as, in the present state of exchange between the Presidencies, it would be a great advantage to purchase your bills, and send them to be placed in your remittance. To equalize the

exchange, we must remit the pagoda at nine shillings, which we did not think ourselves authorized to offer. We have also advertised that proposals will be received for bills on Bengal, and from which I have some expectations, or should be under the necessity of entirely stopping our preparations, and which partially is the case, having stopped a further provision of bullocks (draught) than will move our field train, and some arrack carts. I have not brought the corps from the westward of Wallajabad out of cantonments, and I had intended to send the 36th into Arnee, instead of allowing them to remain on field allowances, but I shall wait until I hear further from your Lordship. A few days will always join the troops from the cantonments of Arcot, Coimbatore, Arnee, and Vellore, as their carriage and camp equipage is ready. General Floyd informs me the 3rd battalion of the 6th Regiment, the first corps ready with him, begin to cross the Coleroon the 17th or 18th, and will be five or six days in effecting the passage, from his having but three boats. His Majesty's 19th Dragoons and 12th Infantry will follow in about eight days. Any one of these corps would enable us to watch Tippoo, should he come to see us. Our intelligence does not give us the least reason to believe the Sultaun has any immediate intention to commence hostilities, and if he even should, we must be very unlucky, if we cannot get troops sufficient to check him at least.

"The camp at Wallajahbad will consist of His Majesty's 12th and 36th Regiments, 19th Dragoons, 3rd and 4th Native Cavalry, 1st Battalion 1st Regiment Native Infantry, with the 74th and two corps of Native Infantry in the cantonment. A few days will always join these to the corps at Arnee and Arcot, as carriage and camp equipage is now all ready. This, from absolute want of cash to make any further preparation, must be the state until your Lordship supplies us. I have now, my Lord, to address you on the subject of the French prisoners, whom I have been much urged to send to Calcutta, but have refused until I know your pleasure,—first, as being well acquainted with the nuisance they would be in Fort William; secondly, as I am doubtful whether, under the capitulation of Pondicherry, we can send them anywhere but to Europe, without being guilty of a breach of it; and, thirdly, as we can get vessels here that will engage as cartels, and which I should instantly have closed with, but that I do not think it safe to dispatch them without convoy, for fear of their going to Mangalore, instead of Old France. I shall write the Admiral privately, to hear what he says in respect to a convoy to the Cape, and your Lordship may turn in your mind whether the *Bombay* would not be well employed in this business, as it is of such importance, in case of hostilities, as to deprive us of one regiment of Europeans. If you

should approve the *Bombay*'s proceeding, she should bring salt provisions, as we have not any in store. The *Bombay* has been most unlucky in her passage to Masulipatam. She left this the 6th instant in the evening, and was not heard of the 16th at that place. She must certainly have passed her port, which must be very vexatious to your Lordship, as Major Beatson will be detained until the *Sybille*, which does not leave this till Thursday next, can bring him. By Captain Cooke you shall have duplicate of this, with any further information I may be enabled to furnish your Lordship by that time.

I remain, &c.,

GEORGE HARRIS.

"P.S. We have appointed the Commission for Tanjore, consisting of Mr. Torin, Mr. Harris (not even an acquaintance of mine), and Mr. Stratton, as youngest member and secretary. Your Lordship has a pretty good notion of the difficulties attending the finding of proper members who are not more usefully employed. The above young men have lately conducted themselves very much to their credit, Mr. Harris in a business of a similar nature in the Ramnad country, and Mr. Stratton as secretary to Court of Cutchery. Your Lordship's favourites, Messrs. Cockburn and Lushington, are positively against accepting the country from Serfogee, and I join them most cor-

dially, but particulars will be forwarded by the *Sybille*, and then your Lordship will decide. The amount of fixed pay and allowance of the army now under orders for the field is—

Pags.	91,449
Additional in the field . .	1,18,105
	2,09,554

"To Admiral Rainier.

"*Madras*, 22*nd July*, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"As it would be of infinite consequence, in case of hostilities, to get rid of the Frenchmen who are prisoners here, and as I can procure cartel ships, I lose no time to inquire if you can give us anything by way of convoy to the Cape. I do not think it would be safe to trust them by themselves, for fear they should prefer Mangalore to Old France; but as you are much more master of this subject than I am, and equally sensible of the nuisance they would be here, I shall thank you for your opinion whether it would be advisable to send them without convoy, in case you cannot assist.

I remain, &c.,

(Signed) George Harris."

"To Major Beatson.

"*Madras, 23rd July*, 1798.

"Dear Beatson,

"I wrote you a letter on the 21st instant, apprising you that the *Sybille* frigate would sail from hence for Calcutta on Thursday morning, and that Captain Cooke had promised to touch and inquire for you. The *Hamburgh*, by which this letter is conveyed to you, proceeds immediately to Calcutta; and as there is a possibility of the *Sybille* passing the port, the General thinks it will be advisable not to lose the opportunity of a passage by this neutral vessel, if her accommodation be decent.

Yours, sincerely,

S. R. Lushington."

"The Earl of Mornington to General Harris.

"*Fort William, 15th July*, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"I transmit with this letter a despatch from this Government in the secret department, which I must request you not to record until you receive further communications from me. The measure directed to be executed in the secret despatch, requires the utmost degree of promptitude as well as of caution. My object is to restore the Nizam to some degree of efficiency and power. The measure forms part of a much more extensive plan for the re-establishment of our

alliances, previously to the moment when Tippoo may expect to be enabled to attack us. The whole of my arrangements will shortly be communicated to you; at present, I shall only recommend to you in the most earnest manner, the speedy and effectual execution of the measure directed in the annexed despatch. As I know your honest zeal for the public service, and the activity which accompanies it, I look with confidence to the accomplishment of my anxious wish for the success of that part of my plan which is now committed to your charge. I imagine that the best position for assembling the troops destined for Hyderabad would be in the Guntoor Circar. You will feel the great importance of selecting a proper officer for this very arduous command. The British force at Hyderabad, after the proposed addition, will amount nearly to seven thousand men, officers and artillery included; it is my intention, if the plan should succeed, to recall the Bengal regiment, and to draw the whole detachment for Hyderabad from Fort St. George. This will preserve a unity of discipline as well as prevent jealousies in the detachment. You will at once feel that such a command is an object for the ambition of your most distinguished officers. I need not recommend the most strict attention to secresy in the whole of this proceeding; the least intimation of my design would instantly set the whole French faction at Hyderabad in motion,

and frustrate the whole of my views. It will be necessary to apprize the acting Resident at Hyderabad of the intended station of the troops, in order that he may communicate with the commanding officer. I repeat my reliance on you for the expeditious and effectual performance of this service, of which the importance in my estimation is so high, that in addition to my applause on public grounds, I shall consider your cordial co-operation as a great claim on my private gratitude. I take this opportunity of suggesting to you the expediency of as great an attention to economy in the mode of assembling the army as may be consistent with the great object of persuading Tippoo Sultaun, that we are really prepared to repel his menaced attack, or to demand such satisfaction for his late conduct as we may deem just. The objects of economy and effectual preparation would be, perhaps, best combined by ordering native troops only to take the field, and drawing the Europeans into the frontier garrisons with all necessary equipments. I do not mean to disarm until I shall have effected all my objects of renewing the efficacy of our alliances, and of obtaining satisfaction from Tippoo; I think, however, that I shall be able to accomplish all my measures without a war, and the ultimate effect of them will be either wholly to avert that calamity for a considerable period of time, or to enable us to meet it with increased strength.

"You will soon receive my ideas with respect to a permanent plan for the defence of the Carnatic, by constantly keeping considerable stores of grain in the frontier fortresses, and by establishing a train of artillery at Arnee and Vellore to be always maintained in a state of readiness for the field; I am aware of the expense of these measures of precaution, but I am persuaded that if we do not provide the permanent means of moving our army suddenly into Mysore, as the occasion may require, we never shall be safe in the Carnatic.

"I have received your letter with an account of your orders to the Resident at Tanjore, which I entirely approve. You will perceive that I had anticipated the want of the questions and answers of the Pundit, and that I dispatched the originals to you on the 16th of June. You will communicate the whole proceeding to the Residents at Poonah and Hyderabad, for their information only, and not to be imparted to their respective courts. I am sorry that Mr. Cockburn does not go to Tanjore, and very anxious to know the names of your committee, on whose report much will depend. I am, &c.

MORNINGTON.

"There can be no objection to the public mention of your expectation of the 33rd* Regi-

* Then at Fort William, Bengal, Colonel Wellesley being Lieut.-Colonel, and ordered to Madras by Lord Mornington.

ment; I should even be glad that the news reached Tippoo, as it would convince him that I am in earnest. Should Tippoo desire from you any explanation of our preparations, you will be so good as to refer him to me for an answer. If you should be of opinion that the not encamping the European forces will be likely to lead Tippoo to doubt the seriousness of my intentions, I beg you will not attend to my suggestions with respect to the measure of stationing the English regiments in the frontier garrisons, my object being to impress the mind of Tippoo with serious apprehension."

"To the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*July 29th*, 1 *P.M.*, 1793.

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's public and private letters of the 15th instant, are this moment received; you may be assured that no time shall be lost in giving directions for carrying into effect the orders they convey, when I have determined in what manner your intention will be best effected, which in the present scattered state of our troops to the northward, and the urgent demand for them in other quarters, requires much consideration. July 30th. Having revolved the subject much in my mind last night and this morning, I have resolved to acquaint your Lordship with two or three points, by express, before I enter fully into the matter:—That unless we receive from you

a supply of money before the end of August, we positively cannot proceed. That the Marine Battalion should be sent with every possible expedition to Masulipatam, and the 33rd here. That the force you have directed cannot be assembled in the Guntoor Circar before the end of August, as a battalion must go from hence, and I believe two, where it is to be observed we have not a man to spare in defending ourselves from any attack that may be made; and lastly, that the execution of your Lordship's orders for sending round the men of the 36th on the arrival of the 33rd Regiment, must be suspended if possible. I sent orders last night, for steps to be taken for the 11th Regiment to be assembled, hoping that the force could have been furnished from the Circars, but shall stop them for a few days, as I am convinced half of it must march from here. I must again repeat that you may rely on every possible exertion, and that, although depressed by want of cash, I do not despond; and am always your Lordship's faithful

And devoted servant,

GEORGE HARRIS."

"To LIEUT.-COL. ROBERT SHAWE.

"*Madras, July* 31, 1798.

"My dear Shawe,

"By this night's tappal you will receive directions to order the 2nd of the 7th Native

Infantry to get in marching order, with all possible dispatch, and as I am very anxious that not a moment should be lost in getting them to the place of their destination, it has occurred to me, that the carriage of Major Ferguson's corps may be employed, in case you should not have had bullocks sent from the paymaster; to be in readiness, if occasion requires, you are at liberty to show this letter to Major Ferguson, with my compliments, and request his assistance in the way above-mentioned; and I would have you inform the commanding officer of the 7th, in order to set at ease the minds of his Sepoys who have families, that they are going northward, which I fancy they all like; you may also inform him, that his exertions to be speedily in readiness will be esteemed marks of his attention to his Commander-in-Chief. The plot thickens, and will, no doubt, succeed, while such zeal pervades the coast army. Keep my two boys to their duty, and believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

GEORGE HARRIS.

"P. S. Don't let Lascars be a difficulty, if you can raise them in the cantonment."

"To the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Madras, August* 1, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"My last letter to your Lordship, of which

I now transmit a duplicate, was in a more desponding strain than you were probably prepared to receive, but if it had been my wish to soften the truths which it contained, I should have deemed it treacherous to your Lordship to have done so, for as the responsibility of the orders you have given rests exclusively with your Government, it was incumbent on me to apprise you of the difficulties which opposed their execution, that you might be enabled to send us early and effectual succours.

"The selection of a person to command the detachment has been justly considered an object of great importance, and, after the fullest inquiry, my choice has fallen upon Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, who commands the 11th Regiment, was at Hyderabad with it till relieved by the Bengal detachment, and gave great satisfaction to the Nizam and his ministers. Sir Alured Clarke knows his character. Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, the brother of Colonel Roberts, is the second in command, and an officer of high military character.

"It will appear somewhat extraordinary to your Lordship, upon a perusal of the accompanying Minute, read in Council on the 13th inst. (but withdrawn for the present), that the required detachment would have been nearly ready by this time, if the want of money had not opposed so serious an objection, and if I had not been much

importuned to refrain from the measure, and perhaps convinced that I should have been impeded in it.

"The receipt of your instructions gave a different aspect to the measure, and yesterday I delivered to the Council the Minute No. 2. Objections were, as I expected, started, but as I declared my resolution to take the measure upon myself, and execute it with my own funds if no public money could be obtained, the opposition was silenced, and the measures necessary for putting the troops in motion were instantaneously adopted.

"The minute which I have delivered in has relieved the disquietude of mind under which I wrote my last letter, because I feel that I have done my duty towards the public and myself, in stating the difficulties to which we are exposed, whilst I have placed at the same time your Lordship's wishes in the best possible train of accomplishment, and write this letter under a determination of using my unceasing endeavours for their effectual completion.

"In the various considerations that will occupy your Lordship's mind in deliberating upon this great question, that of the limited powers allowed to the Commander-in-Chief on the coast will not escape you. In the event of hostilities, I should most earnestly wish your Lordship to be here, and the Commander-in Chief in India to be in the command of the army, for, although I have no

doubt your Lordship would endeavour to prevent the certain bad consequences of placing me in the command of the army without an extension of my present powers, I am thoroughly convinced the service would essentially benefit by your Lordship's presence at Madras.

"I wish to draw your Lordship's particular attention to the order for drafting the 36th Regiment; it is a seasoned corps, officers and men well acquainted with the warfare of this country; and you may expect both the 12th and 33rd will be skeletons after one campaign. I must also beg you will take into your consideration the very weak state of our European force actually in the Carnatic. Our southern division is left with only the sick and weakly of the 12th and 19th, until two companies of Europeans arrive from Jaffnapatam; and this I have been obliged to risk, or we could not collect any thing like a respectable force to meet Tippoo in the field.

"In adverting to your Lordship's suggestion of combining economy with effectual preparations, I may observe that the state of our finances had obliged me to anticipate the idea of putting the Europeans into garrison, and orders have been issued to prepare the barracks at Arnee to receive the 12th, and the 36th shall be put into Poonamallee, which will leave them ready to embark, or to go to the field.

"The 19th Dragoons may be stationed at the

Mount, and 3rd Native Cavalry must double at Arcot with the 25th Dragoons and 1st Native Cavalry, and the 4th Native Cavalry need not move from Cuddalore, nor the battalion of Native Infantry from Pondicherry.

"This arrangement, and the corps at Amboor, Vellore, Arnee, Arcot, and Coimbatore, being only equipped for field service, without moving until absolutely necessary, will be a material saving of expense.

"The outline of your Lordship's ideas for the defence of the Carnatic, appears to me perfectly correct; and so sensible am I of the necessity of stores and a train in advance, that you will have a plan immediately laid before you for putting the Pettah of Kistnagherry into a state to make a depôt, and which appears to me and Colonel Read to be so easily effected from his account of it, that I would have instantly set about it had the means been in my power. As matters now appear, I shall make use of the cattle we have been obliged to collect in transporting stores to Vellore, as we must keep them on pay for some months at least.

"The unusual swelling of the rivers at Trichinopoly, and our total want of preparation in every way (not a boat being ready, and the nabob's people doing nothing), has caused a delay in that quarter that might have been most fatal, had

Tippoo come down on the first intelligence of our preparations.

"The 3rd Native Cavalry commenced crossing the 17th inst., and this moment I have a letter of the 25th from General Floyd, which says, 'The 3rd Native Cavalry over both rivers, and to march towards Wallajahbad on the 28th. The twelve tumbrils and artillery were expected to cross on the 29th; the 12th Foot are arrived at Trichinopoly, and will cross after the artillery; 19th Dragoons all ready, and follow the 12th Regiment.' This will protract the junction of the troops till the latter end of next month—a strong proof of the necessity of always having an efficient army for field movements in the centre division, nearly as it will now be cantoned.

"I hope your Lordship will approve the sentiment I have expressed regarding Serfogee's proffered assignment of his country. As the consideration of such subjects is totally foreign to the habits of a military man, some defect may reasonably be expected, but I must disclaim any that may appear to have originated in precipitation or want of inquiry.

"If your Lordship had not seen at Madras a great part of the Company's civil servants on this establishment, you would perhaps have been surprised that my selection for the commission should have fallen upon gentlemen so young in the ser-

vice. Mr. Torin's qualifications will be abundantly manifest from his own letters. Mr. Harris came to India in 1789, and is a young man of much promise. Mr. Stratton, though a covenanted servant of only five years standing, has been ten years in the country, and has the character of much patient inquiry and sound judgment. The principles of the whole I believe to be unquestionable, and I am certain they have never been in any way concerned in the Tanjore country; and to remove the suspicion of patronage, I should mention that neither of these young men were recommended to me, and that I have scarcely a personal knowledge of Mr. Harris.

"This letter was begun the 30th of July, but so much has my time been taken up, that I could not have been able to forward it even by this night's tappal, only for the unwearied assistance of my son-in-law, Mr. Lushington.

I am, my dear Lord,
Your very faithful and obedient servant,
(Signed) GEO. HARRIS.

"P. S. Commodore Sutherland arrived here this morning, in order to take the command of the *Bombay* frigate, and will proceed to Bengal by the first opportunity, and, I hope, be in time to catch his ship. Duplicates of the present and of our further proceedings shall be forwarded by Commodore Sutherland."

"No. 2. Enclosure in the foregoing letter.

"*Secret Department, July* 31, 1798.

"The President lays before the Board a letter from Bengal, which he recommends may not at present be entered on the records, directing that immediate orders may be issued for assembling, with all practicable dispatch, two native regiments of infantry, with field pieces, each battalion completed to the war strength of 1,000 men, and intimating, that it is probable this force will shortly be required for the service of the Nizam.

"The President delivers in the following Minute:—

"If the present order had been given after the receipt of our letter to the Supreme Government of the 10th inst., there would have been no cause to doubt what conduct we ought to pursue, because the Governor-General in Council would have issued his directions under a knowledge of the difficulties in which we should be involved by the execution of his first instructions for assembling the coast army, with the ultimate view of marching to Seringapatam.

"In that letter we stated our inability to undertake any offensive operation; that our whole collected force was barely sufficient to repel any invasion of our own territories; and that, without large and immediate supplies of money, we could not put it in a state of field equipment; it fol-

lows, then, that, by preparing and detaching so large a part of our army (and which it is probable will shortly be entirely withdrawn from our protection) as 4,000 effective infantry, with their complement of field artillery, that a very serious reduction is made from our means of defence, and that the very measure which we were before scarcely in a condition to repel, is proportionably provoked.

"The question, therefore, for our consideration is, whether these consequences shall be risked by the execution of the present order.

"If I believed that the stipulated force was required only for the ordinary service of the Nizam, I would not hesitate to recommend that the execution of the order should be suspended until a reply was received to the representation which has been made to the Supreme Government of our difficulties; but, judging from the very pressing private request of the Earl of Mornington, that the detachment may be equipped with the utmost promptitude and caution, that its formation is of great importance to the British interests in India, I should deem myself culpable if I thwarted any general plan which may have been formed by the Supreme Government, by delaying, for a moment, to propose to the Board the mode which I deem most proper for the speedy and effectual accomplishment of the part with which we are charged.

"I am aware that difficulties of great magnitude oppose the arrangement I shall propose; but feeling that they ought to yield to the more immediate object in view, it would be superfluous to dwell upon them, and culpable to shrink from the responsibility which may attach to us in meeting them.

"The public and private promise of a supply from Bengal in specie, lessens my apprehensions on this account; and as I have again, in the most urgent terms, pressed the immediate necessity of its performance, I am confident that his Lordship in Council will be as forward to afford effectual relief to our particular difficulties, as we may be to manifest a cordial co-operation in his plans for the general safety.

GEO. HARRIS."

The detachment was forthwith sent to Hyderabad, and soon after this Minute was written, General Harris received from the Governor-General the following letter, upon which I find indorsed in the General's handwriting,—"This is a most able production."

"(Private.) *Fort William, July* 16, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"I return you many thanks for the despatch received by the *Bombay* frigate, yesterday at four o'clock, P. M. The frigate met with such bad

weather on the passage, that she could not touch at Masulipatam, and she arrived here without Major Beatson, and so much disabled, that she will require a repair at Diamond Harbour before she can return to sea.

"The information with which you have furnished me is sufficient for my present purpose, and I cannot express in terms equal to my real sentiments, my cordial approbation of the zeal with which you have entered into all my views for the public service, and of the alacrity, diligence, and correctness, with which you have executed the commission which I entrusted to your charge. I perceive, however, that the object and principle of my late directions to your Presidency are not thoroughly understood; for your satisfaction, therefore, I will state very shortly a summary view of both.

"I have obtained the fullest evidence of the nature of Tippoo's designs against the British power in India, and I have been apprized that, in conformity to the public declarations of his ambassadors, he has actually made preparations for carrying that design into effect. At what moment he may think fit to strike the blow, which he has openly menaced, must always be a matter of mere conjecture; the interests and wishes of France are decidedly in his favour; the precise period of time when she may be able to afford him assistance, must be uncertain; it is equally uncertain, whe-

ther the impetuosity of his temper will suffer him to wait for that assistance: various events in India might offer opportunities which he might deem (and perhaps with reason) favourable to the success of his hostile projects; and without pretending to estimate the considerations which may govern his conduct, it is evident that while we remain without a soldier prepared to take the field in the Carnatic, and without an ally to assist our operations, we yield to this implacable adversary the decided advantage of selecting the time and mode of his long-meditated attack against our defenceless possessions. Under these circumstances, I have never considered that the option between temporary peace and immediate war resided in our hands. The motionless condition of our army on the coast, contrasted with the advanced state of Tippoo's preparations, places in his hands not only that option, but the choice of the moment of conquest; for in our present weakness, his first assault must be successful, whatever might afterwards be regained by our perseverance and resolution. The true state of the question, therefore, is, whether, by continuing unarmed and unallied, we shall abandon the issues of peace, war, and certain victory, to the discretion of a vindictive enemy, or whether by resuming the power of meeting him in the field, we shall replace in our hands the advantages which he now possesses.

"With this view of the subject, the assembling our forces, and the placing ourselves in a state of preparation for war, at least equal to that of the enemy, appeared to me from the first moment of the authentication of the proclamation, to be measures not of choice, but of irresistible necessity, and of indispensable duty. But I did not stop at this point; my decided opinion was and is, that every practicable reduction of the power of Tippoo, is warranted by the principles of justice, and demanded by those of policy; and I therefore determined in the first instance to endeavour to anticipate the execution of his projects of vengeance, by attacking him on all sides without delay, and thus intercepting his means of availing himself of the solicited aid of France, or of any other assistance which might be presented to him by the variable course of Indian politics. But I never proposed to undertake any attack upon him, of which the success could be doubtful in the judgment of those whose opinions must always govern my discretion on every question of military detail; and although my judgment remains unaltered, with respect to the justice, policy, and even indispensable necessity of an effectual reduction of Tippoo's power, I have not undervalued the practical difficulties of such an attempt in the present moment.

"The delay which must attend any movement of the army upon the coast, and the immense

expense of protracted military operations, had made a considerable impression upon my mind, previously to the receipt of your letter dispatched by the *Bombay* frigate; and I had, in consequence of that impression, relinquished all hope of effecting within any short period, the only operation which can afford permanent security to our possessions on the coast.

"Your letter, together with the opinions of Colonel Close, confirmed the decision which I had already taken, and proved that any effectual blow against the power of Tippoo must be deemed utterly impracticable under the present circumstances of the army at your Presidency. But the orders which I originally gave for assembling the army upon the coast, although pointed more particularly at the object of an immediate attack upon Seringapatam, were founded (as I have already stated) upon principles independent of the judgment which I might hereafter form of the practicability of that object. The measure of assembling the army, and of continuing it, if not in the field, at least in a state of forward preparation, is indispensable to the present defence of the Carnatic, the security of which it is my duty to establish upon foundations more solid than can be found in the forbearance of Tippoo Sultaun. In addition to this most pressing object, my views at every period of this crisis have been extended to other general measures essentially connected

with the security of our power in India, and with our means of restraining the enmity of Tippoo. I have always known that an offensive war of any long duration in Mysore, would be difficult, if not impracticable, without the co-operation of the Peishwah and of the Nizam, at least to the extent of facilitating the supplies of provision to our army in the field. A principal branch, therefore, of the precautions which from the first moment I proposed to take for our general defence, was the restoration of these two members of the triple alliance to the power of fulfilling their engagements with us. And it was always my intention that a negociation, accompanied with other measures for that purpose, should precede any attack upon Tippoo. This part of my plan I have not abandoned; it is now in train with very fair prospects of success.

"I have annexed to this despatch, copies of several letters from the Residents at Poonah and Hyderabad, and of my recent instructions to them. These papers will furnish you with a complete knowledge of the actual dispositions and interests of the two courts, as well as of the nature of the system which I have framed for the purpose of uniting them with us upon the original basis of our subsisting treaties of defence against Tippoo.

"You will observe that my views have also been directed to avert another danger which I have long considered with great apprehension, and

which is now aggravated by the inclination which Tippoo has manifested to admit large bodies of Frenchmen into his armies. The growth of a French party in the councils and armies of the several native powers of India, had attracted my attention before I left Europe: this evil has now reached an alarming height, and if not checked will soon produce convulsions in the system of Indian politics, which may facilitate the introduction of the power and influence of France, and expose ours to imminent hazard. The French army at Hyderabad is the main root of this mischief, and I feel it to be a most urgent point of my duty to extirpate it without delay.

"In considering the annexed papers, you will perceive what erroneous notions have been formed at Madras of the temper and views of Azim ul Omrah and the Mahrattahs, as well with respect to the reciprocal relations of the two courts towards each other, as to their common disposition towards the British Government. The moment is very favourable for adjusting their mutual differences, and for reconciling both parties to cooperate with us against Tippoo. I do not expect that Scindiah will be able to oppose any effectual obstacle to the success of a plan founded on the real interests of all parties, and calculated to conciliate the approbation of all the ancient friends of his family, and of all who possess any degree of permanent influence in his armies or dominions.

It would be impossible to carry this plan into execution, without accompanying it by a respectable state of preparation in the Carnatic; as it cannot be supposed that Tippoo would remain an inactive spectator of our negotiations at Poonah and Hyderabad, unless he were checked by an appearance of our ability to move upon his frontier. Our preparations are the necessary consequences of those which he has made, and it would be neither rational nor just in him to consider them as provocations of war. If the fear of an attack from him in the early stage of our preparations, is absolutely to preclude us from making them, we are, indeed, upon most unequal terms with him; and we must then at once determine to leave our fate at his disposal, for it will then appear that we dare not take the common precautions of defence, while he with impunity publicly enters into an offensive alliance for the declared purpose of expelling the British nation from India.

"Having already stated to you that I no longer entertain any idea of an immediate attack upon Tippoo, it will follow that my objects must for the present be limited to those measures of general preparation and defence which are absolutely necessary for enabling us to recover the efficiency of our alliances, to repel any attack which Tippoo may make upon us, or eventually to support any representation which we

may hereafter judge it advisable to make to him.

"It is not my intention to forward any despatch to Tippoo until the allies shall have concurred in it, shall be ready to second our demand, and until our preparations shall be considerably advanced; the nature of our remonstrance to Tippoo will be determined by the circumstances of the moment in which it shall be made.

"I now proceed to state to you another part of my general plan for the protection of the Carnatic. The result of my earliest inquiries into the nature and condition of the military establishments on the coast convinced me that there existed a radical defect in them, which rendered them peculiarly ill adapted to secure the principal object of their institution, more especially in the actual state of Tippoo's preparations, of his temper, and of his power. It is impossible for any human foresight to ascertain the precise time when an attack from Tippoo may be expected; but it is a matter of public notoriety, that he will attack the Carnatic, whenever circumstances shall appear to favour his declared design. To counteract such a design, and to avert the dreadful evils which must attend even the partial execution of it, the character of the enemy, and the nature of his force, require that our protecting force should be so constituted, as to be capable of sudden and rapid movements at a short notice;

but the want of an establishment of draught bullocks, the want of a regular system for the speedy collection of the carriage bullocks from the country, the inadequate stores of grain and of other supplies necessary for the provision of an army in the field, the defects in the regulations for providing camp equipage, and lastly the want of a regularly-established train of artillery with all its proper equipments, nearly disqualify the army upon the coast for any speedy operation even of a defensive nature.

"This was my opinion previous to the receipt of your despatch, from the perusal of which, and of the papers accompanying it, I am compelled to declare that I have received the most alarming impressions of the totally defenceless state of the Carnatic in the present condition of your army, as well as of the utter inefficacy of that force, for any present purposes, even of the most limited nature of mere defence.

"The report of your Adjutant-General states distinctly that the army in the Carnatic, under its present circumstances, cannot be put in motion even for the purpose of defending that valuable possession, under a shorter notice than six months. A body so tardy in its operations cannot be deemed an efficient check upon the rapid and active movements which are supposed to form the characteristic qualities of the adversary to whom it is opposed.

"If the opinion of your Adjutant-General is to be deemed correct, I have no hesitation in declaring that the army upon the coast, notwithstanding its high state of discipline, and the acknowledged gallantry, activity, and skill of its officers, must be considered as an useless burden upon the finances of the Company, being, from its constitution, wholly unserviceable in the emergency of that species of war which it must ever expect to encounter, until the character of the enemy, and the nature of his force, shall be entirely changed. It cannot be doubted, that if Tippoo, in consequence of his alliance with France, had received the aid of one or two regiments, either from the Mauritius or from France, he would immediately have attempted an irruption into the Carnatic with the whole force of his cavalry, which, although diminished, is still considerable. In such an event, if the Adjutant-General's opinion be correct, your army could have opposed no obstacle to the progress of Tippoo for many months. The state of Tippoo's preparations is supposed to be such as to enable him to move with facility and celerity, even for the purposes of offence, while the condition of our protecting force is represented by the Adjutant-General to be such as will not admit of its moving even for the purposes of defence before the commencement of the ensuing year. The acknowledged talents and experience of your Ad-

jutant-General will not allow me to treat his opinion lightly upon a subject so important as that which was submitted to his consideration. I am persuaded that he is incapable of attempting to exaggerate difficulties, and I can conceive no motive which could induce him to endeavour to impede the progress of measures which it is his duty to execute with the full exertion of his zeal and ability; yet if I am to receive his judgment implicitly, I cannot view it in any other light than that of a sentence of disqualification upon your army as far as relates to the primary object of its institution—namely, "defence against a sudden invasion of the Carnatic." I am, however, aware that this sentence of disability is mitigated in a considerable degree by your judgment, and that of Mr. Cockburn, to both of which on every account I pay the greatest deference and respect. But even from the result of your opinion it appears that it would be nearly three months before the army could be enabled to move even for operations of a defensive nature. This, my dear Sir, is a most serious consideration to me, who am charged with the arduous responsibility of preserving from injury every part of the British empire in India. I am determined not only to apply an immediate remedy to this evil, but to encounter the expense which I know must be incurred, in providing a permanent security against the future return of the peril of our present situa-

tion. With this view, I mean to record my sentiments in the Secret Department upon the difficulties which obstruct the movement of your army. This step will be followed by a direction to your Government to report to me in council the most eligible plan for enabling the army upon the coast to be in constant readiness to take the field expeditiously upon any sudden emergency. On your report, combined with such information as I shall receive from the Commander-in-Chief, and from the authorities here, I propose to ground a permanent system for the necessary purpose already stated. In the meanwhile the measures which it is my intention to suggest to you for our present defence will lay the foundation of a more regular establishment of your means of taking the field in future, and will co-operate in promoting my ultimate object. My wish now is, that you should immediately encamp the native troops in such a position as you may deem most eligible for repelling any invasion of the Carnatic; that you should draw the European force immediately into the frontier garrisons; and if your point of union should be, as I suppose it must be, the Baramahl, that you should encamp the European force also there before the period of the monsoon. You will also immediately procure the necessary draught bullocks for the artillery; it is my opinion that a permanent establishment of these will be absolutely necessary for your future safety. The

carriage bullocks must be hired immediately according to Mr. Cockburn's suggestion; some system must hereafter be regularly introduced into the country, in order to facilitate the collection of these upon all future emergencies. Grain and other necessary provisions must be stored in whatever place shall be judged most proper for such a depôt. I am persuaded that means must be found of constantly maintaining upon the frontier such a store of grain as would serve a large army for at least six months in the field. The train of artillery must be provided without delay; this will serve as a foundation for a permanent establishment of artillery to be always ready for use in the field. Camp equipage will be provided, of course; but the best mode of providing this article in future will be a leading object of your report to me.

"Thus have I endeavoured to open to your view the general outline of my arrangements for frustrating the united efforts of Tippoo and of France. My leading objects are, to place your army in a respectable state of preparation for the present, and to enable it to move with alacrity and expedition on any future emergency; to restore to our allies the power of fulfilling their defensive engagements with us, both now and hereafter; to destroy every seed of the French party, now growing up in the heart of the domi-

nions of one of our principal allies, and on the confines of our own; and by the natural and necessary effect of this change in the political state of India, to strengthen our barrier against the resentment and violence of Tippoo Sultaun, and to place in our hands the option of reducing his power according to our discretion, instead of abandoning our tranquillity to his mercy. All these objects appear to me to be attainable, but if they should not be attained, the blame shall not be imputable to any failure of diligence or labour on my part.

"I am extremely pleased with the accounts from Tanjore, and I flatter myself that the country will at length become a scene of order and affluence, an honour to the Government of the Company and of the Rajah, and an increasing source of profit to both.

"Pray remember me to Mrs. Harris, and to Mr. and Mrs. Lushington. Believe me, with great regard and respect,

My dear Sir,

Your faithful and humble servant,

MORNINGTON."

"*Lieutenant-General Harris,*"

&c., &c., &c.

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"*Madras, 7th August*, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"I cannot express in adequate terms the satisfaction which I have received from your Lordship's letter of the 16th ultimo, and the enclosures which accompanied it.

"This comprehensive explanation has dispelled every doubt of the necessity of the measures which you have directed, and I congratulate your Lordship, that the peril of our situation is diminished every day by the assembling of our troops and the forbearance of the enemy, whilst the measures you have in contemplation will certainly prevent the future return of it. At the close of the present, or the beginning of next month, I hope to have our army in a state of preparation, sufficiently advanced for our defence; but if that object should not be attained, it shall not be owing to any want of activity or diligence in me.

"In my former remarks on this subject, I did not advert to one of the difficulties we at present feel in assembling our army, I mean the detachment of a very considerable part of it on foreign service. This compels us to draw our force from distant garrisons to the place of rendezvous and necessarily occasions a very material delay, but as I have received your Lordship's public letter upon the most eligible plan for enabling us to take the field expeditiously, and am preparing to

reply to it, I shall not now trouble you further, particularly since your Lordship will have perceived from my letter of the 1st instant, (of which I have the pleasure to transmit to you a duplicate) that I have been aware of the necessity of having always an efficient army for field movements in the centre division, nearly as it will now be cantoned.

"That you may have a perfect idea of the plan of our cantonment, I have the pleasure to send you a sketch by Major Allan, which shows that we shall always be able in the event of any emergency to join in three days at Wallajahbad and at Arnee in five. To effect the junction at Wallajahbad, the advanced stations must fall back, but this can only be rendered necessary by one of the Sultaun's most rapid movements, and this from our latest intelligence he does not appear in any condition to make. Besides, as different confidential persons are employed on the frontier and in the southern districts, to obtain information of the motions of his army, I have little apprehension of a surprise. The prevention of this is obviously a most important object; and I have, therefore, directed Lieut.-Col. Read to report as soon as possible upon the practicability of establishing signals in all the garrisons in the Barrahmahal, and from thence to the Presidency, or at least as far as Vellore, whence the common tappal reaches us in a day; the result

shall be reported to your Lordship as soon as possible.

"At present, I am of opinion that your Lordship's suggestion of stationing the European troops in the frontier garrison ought not to be adopted. It will be first necessary to have a complete arsenal and a magazine of grain in the Barrahmahal. By encamping in so advanced a situation, the whole of the coast and the centre division would be left without defence, and as offensive operations are not at present meditated, the objects to be attended to, are the general defence of our possessions, and the easiest mode of putting the army in a condition to meet any circumstances that may arise, which I conceive can be best done by cantoning it in the way I have pointed out; upon this subject I shall, however, address your Lordship more fully hereafter.

"Yesterday morning, I saw the 2nd Battalion 2nd Regiment march for Guntoor in high spirits and great strength. I directed the commanding officer to march with as much rapidity as possible after the first three days, which will give time to the Sepoys and their families to get in proper marching order. The 2nd Battalion 7th Regiment were to march towards Guntoor from Wallajahbad this morning. These are two of the best corps in the service. The train of artillery for the detachment will be as follows:—two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, already ordered;

two howitzers to be added. But as the number of men who can be spared for this train, even with the addition of the Bengal company at Hyderabad, will not be sufficient, I beg your Lordship will send a company to Masulipatam as soon as possible, and a part of it may follow the detachment, the whole of which will, I expect, be in complete readiness at the appointed place at the end of the month.

"I should be extremely neglectful if I closed this letter without acknowledging that the very flattering manner in which your Lordship has been pleased to speak of my disposition to promote the public and your views, has given me the highest satisfaction.

Yours, &c.

GEORGE HARRIS.

"P. S. The outline of the return is tolerably correct, but there will be still some difference when we get the return of corps after going into cantonment.

"I have made economy no further an object, than as combined with being ready, but it will yet take near a month to have our train for the field complete.

"Our party will, I flatter myself, be ready by the 1st of September for your orders."

CHAPTER XIII.

Lord Clive relieves General Harris from the charge of the Government at Madras.—Perfect success of Lord Mornington's policy at Hyderabad.—14,000 troops officered by Frenchmen, disarmed and disbanded.—Detailed account of that transaction.

Lord Mornington's letter of the 16th July was the last he wrote to General Harris as Acting Governor of Fort St. George, for Lord Clive, the new Governor, arrived at that presidency on the 21st August, 1798, and from that period the communications with the Governor-General devolved upon him.

The letters of Lord Clive mark very forcibly the deep impression made upon his mind by the representations he received from the public officers of the embarrassments in which the affairs of that presidency were then involved. They prove at the same time that the manly heart which he derived from his great ancestor, was not intimidated by these statements of the peril and responsibility of his station, but that he regarded them as became one who felt that he had an hereditary right to share in the danger, and to contribute to the glory and prosperity of the British empire in India.

As his Lordship's letters accurately describe the state of affairs at that time at Madras, I shall here transcribe two of them.

"LORD CLIVE to the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Fort St. George, 22nd August*, 1798.

"My Lord,

"Having barely had time under the circumstances of my recent arrival to read your Lordship's confidential letters of the 16th ultimo to General Harris, and of 29th to myself, I shall not now enter upon the very important topics they contain, but content myself for the present with expressing the grateful sense I entertain of the friendly and unreserved manner in which you have done me the honour to open your correspondence; and with assuring your Lordship that I am entering upon the important duties of my station, with a mind fully impressed by the great advantages which must result from mutual confidence and co-operation, and with the intention of showing the highest deference, and giving the most cordial support to the measures of the Supreme Government.

With great consideration and esteem,

My Lord,

CLIVE."

"LORD CLIVE to the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Fort St. George, September* 11, 1798.

"My Lord,

"I embrace the opportunity which Colonel Kirkpatrick's return to Bengal presents to me of renewing my most sincere thanks to your Lordship for the open and unreserved communication of your sentiments in your letter of the 29th of July*, as well as for the assurance of friendly support in the conduct of my government, which you have had the goodness to give me. Upon my part, your Lordship may rely with confidence upon my zealous endeavours to meet the views and co-operate in the measures of the Supreme Government, for the prosperity of the Company. It gives me concern to find your Lordship has had any reason to complain of any thing like counteraction or party spirit in this settlement. I can venture to affirm that any tendency of that kind is foreign to my disposition, and do assure you that, should it ever be my misfortune to differ in opinion with your Lordship, though it may become my duty to express my sentiments with freedom, I shall never lose sight of the relation in which this Government stands to the Supreme Government, nor of the respect and obedience which is due to its directions. The point which has chiefly absorbed my attention since my arrival,

* See Appendix.

and which indeed presses with the greatest urgency, is the prospect of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, when contrasted with the means this country possesses of meeting such an event. I cannot view this important object, nor the embarrassment in which the affairs of this country are involved, very far exceeding what there was reason to expect when I left England, without the most extreme solicitude.

"The particulars of our situation are so well known to your Lordship, that I shall have occasion to bring them before you in a general point of view, for the purpose of expressing my sentiments upon the subject, and not with the hope of being able to convey information upon what has been so much the object of your Lordship's attention. Our main army, consisting of about 8,000 fighting men, being in cantonments in the vicinity of Wallajahbad, is deemed to be a force totally inadequate to offensive operations, and cannot be strengthened from this Presidency without materially weakening the necessary garrisons, or drawing our troops from Ceylon; a sufficient reinforcement of native corps to enable our army, in co-operation with that of Bombay, to undertake the siege of Seringapatam, can only be drawn from Bengal; and if reliance is to be put upon the judgment of the best-informed persons here, such a reinforcement cannot be expected to arrive in the Carnatic before the end of February

or beginning of March—a period too late for the commencement of hostilities with a view to the taking of Seringapatam in the course of next year, the time for besieging that place being, as I am also informed, limited nearly to the months of February, March, and April. It therefore seems to follow that our army cannot be put in condition to act offensively, and with a speedy prospect of accomplishing the main object of a war with Tippoo, the capture of Seringapatam, earlier than January twelvemonth. When to these considerations is added the discouraging state of our finances, that our debt amounts to 54 lacs of pagodas, that an investment is expected to be provided of 12 lacs, that our ordinary expenses exceed our ordinary revenue by about 13 lacs, that the revenue of this year is expected to fall short of what it was estimated at by nearly 6 lacs, that our 12 per cent. bonds are at a discount of 5 or 6 per cent., that our treasury is empty, our credit nearly gone, that the Government shortly before my arrival had taken up a lac of pagodas by bills on Bengal at 410 A. Rs. the 100 pagodas, and that I have been under the necessity of resorting to the same expedient, your Lordship will not be surprised at my viewing the situation of this country with extreme anxiety, nor at my expressing an earnest hope that the calamity of a war, for which we are so ill prepared, may be averted.

"Having expressed what my feelings and my duty have urged me to state, I beg to assure your Lordship, in the event of your being forced into a war with the Sultaun, or in that of your ultimately determining to attack him, of my most cordial co-operation to the extent of my means in this Presidency, and of my most zealous and scrupulous attention to the directions of the Supreme Government. In the event of war, it is to your Lordship and Bengal that we must look for resources, for I am concerned to say, that I see no prospect of our being able to raise any considerable sum in this settlement, but, on the contrary, considerable defalcations are to be apprehended from the predatory warfare which the Sultaun may be expected to wage, and little, I fear, is to be expected from his Highness the Nabob.

"I have to thank your Lordship for the communication of the papers relating to the negotiations of Poonah and Hyderabad. The restoration of the Triple Alliance to the situation in which it stood when Lord Cornwallis left India, is an object of the first importance, and the measures which your Lordship has pursued with so much energy for its attainment, appear to me decisive and highly judicious; that you may succeed, and reap the applause due to your exertions, must be the wish of whoever has British glory and British interests at heart. The reinforcement destined

for Hyderabad, with the views of overthrowing the French party there, of securing the succession to Secunder Jah, and of establishing a permanent influence in the councils and conduct of the Nizam's court, has been contemplated by me with peculiar satisfaction. Should this decisive measure be crowned with success, and be properly followed up, it will, without doubt, tend more than any other event to fix the British power in India.

I have the honour to be, with sincere respect and esteem,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful servant,
CLIVE."

It is due to Lord Harris that I should here advert to the manner in which the Earl of Mornington regarded his zealous exertions on this important occasion, because Major Beatson has erroneously stated that the Government of Madras were ignorant of what was going on at Hyderabad, and Mr. Mill has adopted the mistake in his book. In the following letter the Governor-General thus warmly expressed his feelings.

"My dear General,

"You will be glad to hear that I have this day ratified in Council a subsidiary treaty with

the Nizam, which was signed by his Highness on the 1st of September, conformable in every respect to the plan proposed in my instructions to the Resident of Hyderabad. Your detachment was ready even before it was wanted, and I cannot express the extent of my approbation of the zeal and alacrity with which it was assembled.

"If any public good should be the result of my proposed measures, a large share of the merit is to be ascribed to you, for, without your personal exertion, my plan would have been inevitably defeated. I sincerely assure you that what I now state to you shall be stated to Mr. Pitt, to Mr. Dundas, and to the Court of Directors; and if my advice and solicitation can have any weight, you will not remain long without some mark of his Majesty's favour.

MORNINGTON."

"*Fort William, September* 18, 1798."

It must be most gratifying to those who, like myself, hold the memory of Lord Harris in affectionate reverence, to know that the lapse of nearly forty years has made no change in the sentiments which the Earl of Mornington felt and expressed on that occasion, for in the volume of the Marquis Wellesley's *Despatches*, recently published, I find this most just recognition of General Harris's services.

"Upon the discussion in Council at Fort St. George (31st July, 1798), relative to the furnishing pecuniary funds for the detachment of the army, ordered by the Governor-General to be sent to Hyderabad, General Harris, then acting Governor, offered to be responsible in his private funds for the sum required to put the troops in motion. This most generous and patriotic offer completely silenced all opposition, and orders were immediately issued for the advance of the troops to Hyderabad*."

The two letters which I have quoted from Lord Clive show how strongly his mind was at first impressed by those around him with the difficulties under which the Madras Presidency then laboured. Happily these fearful views were soon dispersed. The detachment sent under Lord Mornington's special injunction to Hyderabad by General Harris, produced the immediate and entire destruction of the French influence, and at once restored the Soubah of the Deccan to the power of becoming a useful ally in the war against Tippoo. This first great master-stroke of Lord Mornington's policy roused the courage and spirits of all classes at Madras, as was well expressed in the following letter from General Harris to Lord Mornington:—

* Lord Wellesley's *Despatches*, p. 617.

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"*Madras, 29th October*, 1798.

"My dear Lord,

"Your kind favour of the 18th ultimo would have been acknowledged the moment it was received, if I had only attended to the grateful feelings it occasioned; but convinced as I am how precious every moment of your Lordship's time is to the public, I should not even now have interrupted you, if the great and important news from Hyderabad did not compel me to congratulate you on it. Never was any event more completely the work of an individual, than that has been your Lordship's, and much am I flattered that you should think the part you consigned to me was performed with zeal and alacrity, which it certainly was, and will ever continue to be, while executing orders so pleasantly and clearly detailed.

"It is a grand stroke, and I think will ensure all the rest of your excellent plan in the same bloodless style. We are going on with even increased vigour for this fillip. The second ten-gun battery sets off this day for Vellore, and as the monsoon still holds off, I am in hopes they will get there without being stopped by it. Lord Clive is very zealous, and only wants to know your Lordship's wishes to have them executed.

With my warmest congratulations once more, and those of my whole family added, on the complete success of your Lordship's policy,

I am, with great sincerity,

My dear Lord,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

GEORGE HARRIS."

"The great and important news" here alluded to by General Harris is so well described in the following letters from Captain (afterwards Sir John Malcolm) who was for some time an inmate in General Harris's family, that they will be gratifying to those who are interested in the details of achievements by which the wisdom of British Governors, and the vigour of British courage in subordinate officers, have been so frequently distinguished in India; and never were both combined with happier effects than in the instance here recorded:—

"*Hyderabad*, 11*th October*, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"Mr. Dennison (whose interests I will on all occasions promote) yesterday delivered me your letter. The kindness with which it was written called to my recollection so many proofs of your friendship, that I felt as if I had acted an ungrateful part in leaving a house where I had ever been treated more on the affectionate footing

of a son than as one (which I was) who had casually dropped into a family, upon whom he had no claims, and from whom he had only a right to expect common civility. I am too intimately acquainted with your character, to be at a loss for the motives which influenced your conduct towards me. They are such as to give you a right to my sincerest gratitude, and of a nature never to be forgot.

"From your patronage and favour I have been enabled to lay the corner-stones of both fortune and reputation, and it is my fault, not yours, if I do not erect two goodly buildings. But I have done on this subject; I know you are convinced of my sincerity, and more anxious that I should do credit to your friendship by my actions, than words.

"As you will probably have my appointment notified from Bengal before this, I trust you will not hesitate a moment, on my account, in naming a successor to me as Persian interpreter at head-quarters. Perhaps my retaining any claim on that appointment, even for a few months, might be an objection to some person that you might wish to name: if so, I beg you will at once consider it relinquished—indeed, when I reflect on circumstances, I am ashamed of ever having made the request I did.

"I will in a day or two write you on the politics here, which are in a critical state. The removal of

a few democrats is all that is wanting to secure us here on a most permanent and honourable footing; but these *gentlemen* are at the head of 12,000 men, and may not be inclined to resign such distinction with a good grace—if not, they must do it with a bad one, for till they are extirpated, nothing is done. I cannot convince myself we will be able to settle *à l'aimable* with our French friends, but I may be mistaken.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with respect,
Your much obliged,
And most obedient humble servant,
JOHN MALCOLM."

"*21st & 22nd October*, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"You are, no doubt, fully informed of the new treaty formed with the Nizam, a secret article of which stipulated for the immediate dismission of the French officers, &c., and the complete disorganization of the corps which they had commanded.

"Though prudence would perhaps have dictated this Article to have been carried into execution when the corps under the French were in a dispersed state, the minister thought if that mode was adopted, much property of the Government might be lost; he therefore resolved to bring them all to one spot, and, on the 13th instant, they were all assembled except a few small detachments at their usual cantonments

within two miles of Hyderabad. I enclose you a state of their force, which you will observe was by no means despicable, particularly when it is considered that their discipline and appointments, though inferior to ours, were every way superior to that of the common troops in a Native service, and the extraordinary punctuality with which they had since the first formation been paid, secured to the officers the choice of the men of the country.

"From the moment Colonel Roberts's detachment arrived, Captain Kirkpatrick urged the necessity of prompt and vigorous measures, but such are repugnant to the habits of this court. Fortunately, as it afterwards proved, a strong and spirited remonstrance of his against further delays delivered on the morning of the 19th, led to a discovery that the most serious intrigues against the accomplishment of the treaty were carried on, and the Minister, influenced by fear, (for he is the most timid of cowards,) avowed language that militated against a faithful and full performance of it. In a situation so delicate and important, there was no time for reflection. A moment's delay might have produced incalculable evils. The enemies of our connexion were numerous, and though they had no force at hand, they might in a few days have assembled one.

"The Minister's forwardness to form this connexion, left no doubt of his inward wish to see it

fully accomplished; while a knowledge of his character and situation gave reason to conclude, that he was under the most alarming apprehension, and that this was the cause of his change of language. These considerations, and many others, founded on private intelligence, determined the Resident on the most spirited and decided measures. He ordered Colonel Hyndman's detachment of two battalions to a strong post, about four hundred yards in the rear of Monsieur Piron's camp, between which and him there was the river Moussy, which could only be forded by infantry; the guns could, however, play from the bank of the river, with excellent effect, on the principal magazine, and right of the camp. Colonel Roberts was encamped on a commanding spot, from whence he could have marched to the attack of the front and left of the French camp. The moment the troops had reached this position, the Resident informed the Minister, that after what he had heard from himself and others, he thought it his duty to provide both for the honour and safety of his own state; that he had, to accommodate to the disposition of the Nizam's court, admitted, contrary to his instructions, a procrastination of nine days, and he now could only give the court twenty-four hours, to send the French officers their dismission, to publish the Nizam's pleasure to their troops, and to send him (the Resident) a body of horse, to use coercive measures in co-operation

with the English troops, if such was necessary. If they did not conform with these requisitions in the period prescribed, they were plainly told that an attack would be made on Monsieur Piron's lines; and that they might take the consequences upon their own heads, as the natural effect of their crooked and unprincipled policy. This language, and the unexpected motion of the troops, which left no doubt of the intention, aided by the spirited remonstrances of Meer Allum, who told the Minister that if he continued his trifling, the English would cancel the present advantageous treaty, and make a new one for themselves, worked the desired effect. All Captain Kirkpatrick's requisitions were complied with.

"The French officers, the moment their dismissal was officially given, signified to the Resident their readiness to comply with the orders of the Presence, and that they wished to receive the protection of the English nation, as they were convinced (although general policy had dictated their removal,) they would be individually considered as having a right to *that*, in the fullest extent it could be granted them. It was impossible for a body of men to behave better than they did: in the first instance, by making every exertion to prepare to receive us as enemies; and in the next, by the most cheerful obedience to the orders of the Prince they served, the moment these were officially communicated.

"On the officers preparing to leave camp on the morning of the 21st, a violent mutiny broke out, in several of the corps, on account of their pay, though only twenty-one days in arrear, and every assurance had been given them of being retained in the service. They confined Monsieur Piron, and all the commandants of corps; the former, however, contrived to make his escape to Colonel Roberts's camp, though not without a scuffle, in which several were wounded.

"On the morning of the 22nd, as it was resolved to reduce them to obedience, and as the mutiny afforded an admirable opportunity of disarming and disbanding the whole corps at once, which otherwise would have been a work of time, the Resident sent instructions to Colonel Roberts, to advance with his corps, and after he had made himself master of the heights that commanded the French camp, to give the men one quarter of an hour to stack their arms, and march off to a cowle (or protection) flag, which was pitched by one of the Nizam's principal officers, about half a mile to the right of their camp. If they did not comply with the terms of this summons, they were immediately to be attacked, and on such commencing, Colonel Hyndman was to advance also. A body of near two thousand horse were placed under my orders, with which I occupied their right flank, while five hundred were sent to the left. As I reached the ground two hours

before Colonel Roberts came up, and observing they were extremely alarmed, I ventured near, though cautiously, as I had with difficulty made my escape from them the day before. Four or five subadars came to meet me, and after I had explained the intentions of Colonel Roberts, they returned to explain it to their corps, from whom they instantly brought me a message that they were ready to comply with all the conditions, but trusted Company's Sepoys would be sent to take possession of their lines, as the Nizam's horse, if admitted, would plunder everything. On observing this favourable aspect, I advanced, and found that they were completely disunited, and terrified, and ready to obey any orders, and as a proof of their having returned to their senses, they released all the officers they had confined.

"I went to meet Colonel Roberts, to inform him of this favourable turn: he took immediate possession of the heights, and advanced eight Grenadier companies to take possession of the grand magazine, store-houses, and cannon, while the natives of the French corps moved off in a deep column to the appointed flag, and the Europeans all joined our camp, the latter full of spirits: for the fears they had experienced from the fury of the men made them view us, not as belonging to a nation who had by its policy ruined all their prospects, but as men who had exerted themselves to save their lives. At five o'clock

their whole lines were in our possession, and a corps consisting of sixteen thousand men in all, had been annihilated in six hours, without shedding one drop of blood.

Ever, my dear Sir,
faithfully your obliged,
JOHN MALCOLM."

"*To Lieutenant-General Harris.*"

CHAPTER XIV.

Progress of the military preparations for the campaign against Tippoo—General Harris recommends the Governor-General to give the command of the army to Sir Alured Clarke—His confidence established by the kind and encouraging treatment of the Governor-General—Joins the army at Vellore, and relieves Colonel Wellesley from the command.

From this time, the preparations of every kind went forward with increased vigour. Lord Clive and all the officers under the Government, civil and military, emulated each other in their exertions for the advancement of the important purpose, which had been at first contemplated with great alarm by nearly every civil and military servant at the Presidency, except Mr. Cockburn. His able and ardent mind entered cordially into the wisdom and necessity of Lord Mornington's policy, and he rendered every aid in his power to its success by his comprehensive knowledge and animated example. The high qualifications of this excellent man had not escaped the sagacity of the Earl of Mornington, although he had only seen him for a short time at Fort St. George on his way to Calcutta. In writing to Lord Clive, the new Governor, upon the state of the civil service, Lord Mornington thus expressed himself.

"*Fort William, July 29th*, 1798.

"Your Lordship will find all the members of the Board of Revenue worthy of confidence. Mr. Cockburn, however, deserves particular notice. He bears the highest reputation for integrity, talents, and knowledge of the business of the country, and I found him fully answerable to his general character. I have very seldom met with a more valuable man in any part of the world; and I take the liberty of recommending him earnestly to your Lordship's attention, as a person on whom you may rely for the most accurate information, and for the soundest and most honest opinions, entirely exempt from any taint of passion, prejudice, or self-interest*."

The period of the greatest danger was now happily passed. Tippoo had done nothing whilst a considerable body of our troops had been gradually assembling in the southern division under General Floyd, and at Wallajahbad and Vellore under Colonel Harvey Aston, upon whose death the command devolved upon Colonel Wellesley.

The Earl of Mornington's admirable despatches and measures, and the presence of Colonel Wellesley at Madras, had wrought so great a change in the feelings of the leading men in the settlement, that when the Governor-General arrived at Fort St. George, in December, he had

* See also Lord Cornwallis's character of Mr. Cockburn in the Appendix.

soon the satisfaction of seeing all hearts and hands united for the furtherance of his wise and vigorous counsels. But as a proof of the feeling of opposition to Lord Mornington's policy, which at one period prevailed at Madras, and of the difficulties which General Harris had to contend against, I insert in the Appendix a letter from Colonel Wellesley to General Harris, in October, 1798.

The decided, but honest, repugnance which Mr. Webbe and other public officers had felt when the noble earl's intentions were first disclosed, gradually yielded to the course of events and to their own maturer reflections. This happy change was accomplished with the greater facility, because General Harris had not only not resented or aggravated the pain and embarrassment which he had himself suffered from their first opposition, but had done all in his power to allay the displeasure which Lord Mornington naturally felt when it became known to him. So strongly did the authorities at home enter into the feelings first expressed by Lord Mornington, that, in a moment of anger, a letter was actually written by Mr. Dundas, ordering Mr. Webbe and Colonel Close to be sent home. Most fortunately for the public service, however, a second letter from Lord Mornington arrived in time to prevent the degradation of these two most distinguished officers, which would have been a great public calamity. The epitaphs upon their monuments in St. Mary's

Church, at Madras, the one raised by public subscription, the other by the East India Company, abundantly manifest that two more distinguished men never adorned the civil and military services of India.

But to Mr. Webbe, this was but a respite from affliction. He was subsequently removed, by the misguided interposition of the authorities at home, from the Chief Secretaryship of Madras, in defiance of the indignant remonstrances of the Governor, Lord Clive, and notwithstanding the Governor-General had publicly declared that he possessed knowledge, talents and virtues, never surpassed in India, and had devoted the best years of his valuable life for the honour and the benefit of the Company. In his way to his appointment of Resident at Nagpore, he died on the banks of the Nerbudda, and amidst the general mourning for his loss, none more sincerely lamented him than the Governor-General and Colonel Wellesley. The opportunities which the noble earl had of appreciating his character, encouraged the principal inhabitants of Madras to request that his Lordship would be pleased to write such epitaph as he might deem appropriate for the public monument they had determined to raise in honour of Mr. Webbe, and though the Governor-General's official relations to those who had removed Mr. Webbe from his office, prevented his compliance with their wishes, his

Lordship cordially shared in the feelings which dictated that just record, by which the memory of this great statesman will ever be remembered*. To repeat the words of the Duke of Wellington, he was "one of the most able, and what is more, one of the most honest men he ever knew."

Amidst the many proofs which Mr. Webbe's honourable life afforded of the justness of this character, was the impression his mind received from the manner in which he had been treated by General Harris, on the occasion of his opposition to the measures first proposed by the General in furtherance of Lord Mornington's policy. He never forgot the forbearance and good temper shown to him at that period, and he manifested it in the way which he knew would be most acceptable to General Harris, by his kindness to myself after the General returned to England†.

But the change which had taken place in the opinions of Mr. Webbe and other influential persons at Madras, in regard to Lord Mornington's measures, encouraged no presumptuous thoughts in the mind of General Harris. His natural equanimity remained undisturbed, and he earnestly recommended his Lordship, now, that Zeman Shah had retreated from the Company's western frontier, to send for the Commander-in-Chief, Sir A. Clarke, then at Calcutta, that he

* See Epitaph in the Appendix. † See his Letters.

might be himself relieved from the chief command of the expedition against Mysore.

The noble earl received this communication with the respect and kindness due to so great an instance of modesty and self-denial. But being satisfied that the arrangements he had already made for conducting the Government in Bengal, and for the command of the army on the coast, were well calculated to promote the public interests, he desired General Harris to consider well before he declined this great appointment, and after a night's rest to return to him with his answer in the morning.

Happily for the General, and for all connected with him, his confidence was re-established by the Governor-General's kind reception of his modest doubts of his own sufficiency, and by earnest prayer to the Giver of all victory, that he might be endowed with the powers necessary for this great undertaking.

His fine cheerful countenance, when he returned to Lord Mornington in the morning, so plainly spoke the result of his night's reflections, that before he could give utterance to them, the noble earl, by anticipation, congratulated him upon his decision, in that frank and generous spirit, which won the hearts of all who approached him, and made them serve in all his counsels in India, as fervently as if they had been of their own suggestion.

From this moment every arrangement prospered. Those individuals who had money, European and native, animated by the Governor-General's own subscription of 12,000*l.* to the public loan, came handsomely forward with their contributions, and thus filled up the measure of those great supplies which this important expedition required.

All the preparations and arrangements for the campaign being nearly completed, and the troops assembled in the vicinity of Vellore, General Harris, accompanied by the general staff, left Madras on the 26th of January, 1799, and joined the army on the 29th of the same month.

The army consisted of 2,678 cavalry (of which 912 were Europeans), 576 European artillery, 4,608 European infantry, 11,061 native infantry, 2,726 gun lascars and pioneers, forming altogether a force of 21,649 men, with 60 field-pieces (including 12 equipped as horse artillery, and attached to the cavalry), 40 heavy guns, of which, two were 24-pounders, thirty 18-pounders, and eight 12-pounders, each having 1,200 shot, and a proportionate quantity of stores of every kind.

This was the army of the Carnatic under the command of General Harris, and an army more perfect in all points had never taken the field in India. As a specimen of what the cavalry were, I insert in the Appendix a letter from Colonel Wellesley to General Harris.

The army on the coast of Malabar, com-

manded by General Stuart, and most efficiently equipped, was destined to act under General Harris, when he approached Seringapatam. And a considerable force was assembled to the southward under Lieut.-Colonel Brown, to join the detachment of Colonel Read in the Barrahmahal, and from their co-operation in bringing supplies to the grand army through the Caverypooram Pass, essential aid was anticipated during the siege of Seringapatam.

But the most important of all the advantages which General Harris enjoyed, was the unbounded confidence of the Governor-General, and the extent of power delegated to him. He was authorised to call upon all the servants of the Company, civil and military, for every aid and resource they could supply; and their knowledge that the Governor-General was at Fort St. George, prepared to enforce the just exercise of these powers by all the ample means which the law had conferred upon him, inspired one universal spirit of prompt obedience and vigorous exertion.

Under these circumstances, it was not presumptuous in Lord Mornington to anticipate the most decisive success, for all that human power could do to secure it, had been done. General Harris had, however, seen such examples of the reverses to which military enterprise were subject in India, from the infirmity of the cattle, where a great battering train is indispensable, and from the

difficulty of obtaining supplies of food, and he also remembered so accurately the mournful result of Lord Cornwallis's first attack upon the enemy with whom he had now to contend, that he could not divest himself, though surrounded by this splendid armament, of considerable doubts of the practicability of arriving at Seringapatam in time to take it before the Malabar monsoon, if Tippoo vigorously opposed his daily progress. The month of February had now begun, and he had 220 miles to march, chiefly through a hostile country, before he could reach Seringapatam. He recollected that Lord Cornwallis, after having defeated Tippoo under the gates of his capital, in the month of May, 1791, was compelled to destroy his battering train, and lead back his victorious army in a state of miserable destitution, thus feelingly described by Major Dirom, who was, like General Harris, a partner in that misery:—

"The Mahratta armies having advanced to Seringapatam, in May, 1791, later than the appointed period, their delay, and other unfortunate circumstances, reduced Earl Cornwallis to the necessity of destroying his battering train, after having defeated Tippoo Sultaun on the 15th of that month in a pitched battle, and obliged his Lordship to lead back his victorious army, leaving the siege of the enemy's capital to be the object of another campaign.

"The Bombay army, commanded by Major-

General Abercromby, had, with infinite labour, formed roads, and brought a battering train, and a large supply of provisions and stores, over fifty miles of woody mountains called Ghauts, that immense barrier which separates the Mysore country from the Malabar coast. Part of General Abercromby's train also fell a sacrifice to the necessity of the times; and his army, who thought they had surmounted all their difficulties, had the mortification to find their exertions of no utility, and had to return, worn down by sickness and fatigue, exposed to the incessant rains which then deluged the western coast of the Peninsula.

"Lord Cornwallis had advanced to Caniambaddy, eight miles above Seringapatam, with a view to form a junction with the Bombay army, which the swollen state of the Cavery, and the unexpected badness of the ford, rendering impracticable, his Lordship remained some days on the banks of the river, to cover their march, as they retired from Periapatam to the Ghauts, and began to move himself towards Bangalore on the 26th of May. The army had suffered exceedingly from the inclemency of the weather, from wounds, and from extreme fatigue in bringing on the battering train and stores, which had required much assistance on the march from Bangalore to Seringapatam, and from thence to Caniambaddy had been dragged almost entirely by hand. The season of the year was un-

favourable to the cattle: they were infected with an epidemic disorder, which killed them in vast numbers, and rendered the greater part of wha remained of little service. The scarcity of grai was such, that the lower class of followers wer reduced to the necessity of subsisting chiefly o the putrid flesh of the dead bullocks, and, to ad to this scene of distress, the small pox unfortu nately raged in the camp.

"The public store of rice being nearly ex haüsted, and the loss which had taken place fro the negligence or embezzlement of the bullock drivers on the march having decreased the ori ginal stock in a most alarming degree, it becam necessary to issue to the troops the greater par of what remained, as the only means of securin it for their subsistence. The fighting men wer thus provided, at the rate of half their usua allowance, with a quantity sufficient to suppor them till the army might by easy marches reac Bangalore, the followers depending chiefly on th casual supply, which, by taking a new tract, woul be found in the adjacent countries. The distres of the officers was still more severe than that o the soldiers; for having given part of their privat carriage (cattle and carts) to the public depart ments, to assist in transporting shot and store from Bangalore for the siege of the capital, an disappointed in the supplies they expected fro the Bombay army, they were now in want o

everything, and many were under the necessity of requesting permission to draw the same allowance as the private men. The tents and the clothing were nearly worn out; the arrack, as well as the rice, was almost expended; and, in this situation, the assistance of the troops was necessary to carry back part of the intrenching tools, which it might be difficult to replace, and to drag the field-pieces and tumbrils attached to their corps,—a task to which the surviving cattle were unequal in their weakly state. Great part of the horses of the cavalry were so reduced by want and fatigue, that they could no longer carry their riders, and many, unable to march, were now shot at their picquets. The ground at Caniambaddy, where the army had encamped but six days, was covered in a circuit of several miles with the carcases of cattle and horses; and the last of the gun-carriages, carts, and stores of the battering train left in flames, was a melancholy spectacle, which the troops passed as they quitted this deadly camp."

The resolution which the remembrance of these mournful events excited in General Harris's mind was the wisest and best that could be formed. He determined that nothing should induce him to hazard a battle, or to march one foot out of the line by which he had determined to proceed to Seringapatam with such a quantity of heavy stores and guns, but Tippoo's stopping the course of his march. To this he firmly adhered;

and it was his constant study to inspire all the officers and departments of the army with an honest and ardent zeal like his own for the furtherance of this all-important purpose. From no individual in the army did he derive greater aid than from Colonel Wellesley, as his first report of that officer's masterly arrangements to the Governor-General expressed in the following letter:—

"*Camp near Vellore, 2nd February*, 1799.

"My Lord,

"Having had leisure, since my arrival here, to inspect the division of the army which has been since its formation under the orders of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, I have much satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship that the very handsome appearance and perfect discipline of the troops do honour to themselves and to him; while the judicious and masterly arrangements in respect to supplies, which opened an abundant free market, and inspired confidence into dealers of every description, were no less creditable to Colonel Wellesley, than advantageous to the public service, and deservedly entitle him to my thanks and approbation.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, &c.,

G. HARRIS."

CHAPTER XV.

The Army moves towards the Frontier—Parting letter from the Governor-General—Reply thereto—Letter to Captain, afterwards Sir, George A. Robinson, describing his situation and expectations.

Not an hour was now lost in moving towards the frontier; and in his march General Harris had the gratification of receiving the following heart-stirring letter from Lord Mornington.

"(Private.) *Fort St. George, February* 23, 1799.

"My dear General,

"Having answered all your public and private letters, adopted every arrangement suggested in your several minutes, and furnished you with detailed instructions applicable to every contingency for which I can provide, I now proceed to communicate to you without reserve my private sentiments with regard to your own situation, and to my expectations of the result of the important expedition which I have entrusted to your charge. The army of the Carnatic immediately under your command is unquestionably the best appointed, the most completely equipped, the most amply and liberally supplied, the most perfect in point of discipline, and the most fortunate in the acknowledged experience and abilities of its officers

in every department, which ever took the field in India. It comprises a more numerous and better appointed corps of cavalry than any European power in India ever brought into action. The army on the coast of Malabar appears by all accounts to be in an equally efficient state, and the command on that coast never before was lodged in such able hands. All the departments relating to supplies from that quarter promise to afford a far more effectual assistance than was derived from thence during the last war. The powerful force which is destined to co-operate from the southward is an advantage not possessed in the last war, and which will become doubly useful under the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Brown; and in the Baramahl, Lieutenant-Colonel Read has already contributed the fruits of his experience in the collection of supplies, and every measure has been taken to secure the earliest benefits from his exertions. The appearance of so large a fleet on Tippoo's coasts is a circumstance of advantage not possessed in the last war, and which cannot fail to aid your operations, by intimidating the enemy and by encouraging defection among his subjects. With regard to the allies, the Nizam's force has appeared in the field at a much earlier period than in the last contest with Tippoo; and the cordial zeal of the court of Hyderabad for our success (which was so questionable during the last war) now admits of no doubt.

"The Mahrattahs have accepted a detachment from Bombay; and during the siege of Seringapatam there is no reason to apprehend that the Peishwa will not make every effort to assist you with a large body of cavalry. You are invested with powers fully adequate to the management of these extraordinary and numerous advantages, and you are surrounded by a staff appointed in the most liberal manner, and uniting every species of knowledge and ability which can tend to give additional force to the efforts of your own experience and zeal. The object of your operations is single, distinct, and definite, and the means of attaining it have been the continual study of yourself, and of those acting under your orders. The enemy's country, the nature of his resources, the strength of his defences, and the character of his force, are subjects perfectly familiar to the whole of your staff, and to most of your principal officers. He cannot make a movement which they will not anticipate, nor is any contingency likely to arise against which they will not have provided. On the other hand, Tippoo Sultaun's army is known to have suffered essentially both in numbers and discipline since the last war. His finances are in great disorder; he no longer possesses the confidence of his army, his councils are distracted by a variety of contending factions, and his spirits are dejected and broken by the disappointment of his hopes of

French assistance, by the retreat of Zemaun Shah, by the failure of his intrigues at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, and by the unexampled vigour, alacrity, and extent of our military preparations. You possess, therefore, every advantage which the most sanguine mind could expect, or the most anxious could desire, in the strength of your own army, in the cordiality of the allies, in the comparative weakness and dejection of the enemy, in the efficiency of your power, in the support of the Government under which you are to act, in the ability of the counsels which you can command, and in the unity and simplicity of the object which you are directed to pursue. Under such circumstances, it is not presumption to expect the most decisive success. With a full confidence that you will make a just use of the unprecedented and unlimited advantages of your present enviable and commanding situation, and with a persuasion that you will conduct your army with a degree of vigour and alacrity proportioned to that with which you have equipped it, I cannot entertain the smallest doubt that (under Providence) the issue of the expedition will be as speedy and prosperous as the means which you possess are abundant and unexampled. I am, however, aware that, in all great enterprises, difficulties will occur; but where previous measures have been well combined, and every seasonable precaution provided, a manly firmness will

surmount obstacles even of a formidable appearance, and the trivial ordinary embarrassments of detail are conquered the moment they are despised. Recollect the difficulties which opposed the detachment of a large portion of the central army to accomplish an arduous undertaking at the court of the Nizam; you encountered every impediment with resolution and spirit, and within two months you saw the happy effects of your own firmness in the complete and easy success of that important measure, and you now feel those effects in the great accession of strength which has resulted from that measure to the common cause of the allies.

"Recollect. that the equipment of the very army which you now command was long represented to be utterly impracticable within the present season; and that difficulties absolutely insurmountable were supposed to preclude the possibility of raising the necessary funds for carrying on the present campaign. Every impartial mind must *now* admit that a more striking example of the efficacy of perseverance and resolution in overcoming practical obstacles of detail cannot be exhibited than that which appears in the actual state of your order of battle, and of your tumbrils. These reflections will naturally animate you to an unremitting exertion of the same spirit of alacrity and promptitude, which has brought your army to its present unrivalled and admirable condition.

The magnitude of the enterprise, and the means which you possess of commanding its success by a vigorous use of your extensive powers, will raise your mind above the consideration of all temporary inconveniences, will enable you to overcome every delay, and will accelerate the rapidity of your progress towards that object, which, however great and valuable, is easily attainable by diligence, fortitude, and despatch. With these sentiments, my dear General, I take my leave of you (I trust for a very short period of time), in the firm conviction, that, within a few weeks, I shall have the satisfaction of congratulating you on the prosperous issue of a service, combining more solid advantages and more brilliant distinctions than the favour of fortune, season, and circumstances, ever placed within the reach of any British subject in India, from the earliest success of our arms to the present day.

Believe me, my dear General,
With the greatest regard and good wishes,
Your faithful friend and servant,
MORNINGTON."

This admirable letter was not lost upon General Harris. He felt deeply the generous confidence reposed in him by Lord Mornington, to whom he immediately sent the following answer.

"LIEUT.-GENERAL HARRIS to the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Caukengena, seven miles W. of Tripatore, Feb.* 25, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's final instructions are received, and their very satisfactory contents perfectly understood.

"I shall not attempt an elaborate letter of thanks for them, or for all the noble and liberal confidence and encouragement they contain; but I trust to that Providence on whom I depend, that your Lordship shall be paid by a thorough conviction that everything to the best of my abilities shall be tried, to ensure that success which your Lordship's exertions give so fair a prospect of. And allow me here to relieve your Lordship's mind from the fear that I shall permit myself to become a *despondie** in the business, by the assurance that never in my life was I known to have the smallest tendency or turn that way.—On the contrary, in some severe trials I have been most cheerful in the support of others, and thank God, have always found my spirits rise in the hour of danger. It is true I am anxious to examine the worst side of things, in order to provide a substitute if possible; but when prevention is no

* A "despondie" is an Hindostance word, which appears in the Revenue transactions. Lord M. had applied it in a ludicrous sense to those who "desponded" of success in the war.

longer in my power, I trust you will hear that I make the best of everything, and meet with cheerfulness the accidents which must happen in our peregrinations. At present we are in a great way of supplies, and, with Read and Macleod's exertions, I have great hopes we shall escape similar distresses to those we experienced last war.

"You may depend upon it, that there is no man in the army who wishes the business over more than myself; but no selfishness, or, I trust, persuasion, shall induce me to push the cattle beyond their powers, for that would be risking everything. On them we must depend for getting our noble battering train along, and we will soon make up any time supposed to be lost in this way, when once we begin the siege.

"Your Lordship's last communications have been particularly grateful to me; and as you have taken care to secure me by every tie dear to man —by gratitude, by my own honour and conscience being pledged, and even by the Eastern policy of having my wife and children in your hands*,— I think you will not be deceived. That you may not, is my earnest prayer; and that your Lordship will believe me,

My dear Lord, with great esteem,
Your devoted and faithful servant,
GEORGE HARRIS."

* Mrs. Harris and the General's children were all left at Madras, under the Governor-General's care.

This was the last letter written by General Harris, before he marched into Tippoo's country, except one to Captain Robinson, (afterwards Sir George Robinson,) a much honoured chairman of the East-India Directors. This describes all his good feelings so accurately, that it will repay the reader the trouble of perusing it.

"*Camp Moodoor, Feb.* 26, 1799.

"My dear Robinson,

"The public prints must have announced to you *my Excellency's Titles and Powers.* My constant scene of occupation follows, of course, and all my friends have equal reason with yourself to complain of my silence. Not a line have I written to any except Sir A. Clarke, about a fortnight since. So here we may close this account.

"Would that I could as easily settle the account with Tippoo. You are for negotiation? So am I! But the rascal would humbug me, and make me lose the season, if he could once get me to listen to him. Wonderful exertions have been made to fit out the army which Dame Fortune, in her freaks, has placed me at the head of. Even the season that is unfavourable to the country from the failure of rain, has promoted our views in allowing our bringing the battering train so forward, and no doubt the army is appointed beyond every expectation. I have found the most liberal support from Lord Mornington, with all

the sincere advice I could have expected from a long established friend, and he has given me the clearest instructions possible for my future procedure. In short, my dear Robinson, every circumstance now seems to combine, for a most brilliant conclusion to the flattering situation I have been forced into.

"Lord Mornington's plans seem everywhere to succeed. We shall have a very formidable force to the southward under Browne, and Read will also be left so strong as to despise anything short of Tippoo's army. These great sources for supplies he might have prevented. Indeed, had he thrown his cavalry into the Barrahmahal, I doubt much whether we could have proceeded before the next monsoon. But he seems infatuated and delivered into our hands. 'Tis true we shall have our struggles, though most things are so favourable. Our bullocks are much harassed, and the small-pox has crippled many, and our Europeans of the 12th and Scotch Brigade fall down fast; but I trust the latter will recover as they get into the cooler climates of the Mysore country, and to Read's collections I trust for recruiting our carriage. Sanguine anticipations are formed, no doubt, of the most decisive success; and, all things considered, his Lordship has just reason, as far as his own exertions are concerned, and the unlimited powers and advantages he has given to me, to expect it.

"You will not doubt that I shall endeavour to conduct the business with vigour and alacrity, under the impression of such uncommon liberality, and when I consider the abilities of the staff I have chosen, I am sometimes led to indulge in the pleasing prospect that it will end well.

"The command of such a body was at first seen by me in the most formidable point of view, and I rather shrunk from the magnitude of the object I had to encounter. Indeed, I would have given a large share of my little fortune to have been off; but seeing the thing inevitable, I did at last what I should have done in the first instance, —threw myself on that Providence for support who never fails to assist the humble; and thanks to that Almighty Being who only knows what is right, I daily seem to gain confidence; and what was at first labour, sorrow, and disappointment, is becoming familiar and easy to perform.

"The intricacies and labyrinths I was in, are clearing fast away, and I can now combine measures, and take precautions to obviate obstacles, and remove difficulties, whose formidable appearance would at first have completely embarrassed me. The support I have thus found will, I trust, be continued; for this alone can animate me to the unremitting exertions my arduous station requires. This alone can enable me to support and overcome all the numerous difficulties and temporary inconveniences I must have to encounter;

and this alone can raise the mind to the state necessary for the achievement of great designs, such as that with which I am entrusted.

"I shall now descend from my altitude, and talk a little like one of this world. I have taken the liberty with you, nolens volens, to nominate you, jointly with my friend White, my attorney, or rather Mrs. Harris's and the brats, and I think I may rest satisfied you would not refuse your assistance to them in case they should want it.

Ever your affectionate friend,

GEO. HARRIS."

CHAPTER XVI.

The Madras army enters the Mysore country—Colonel Wellesley appointed to command the Nizam's subsidiary force—Tippoo attacks a portion of the Bombay army at Sedaseer under Colonel Montrésor—Is repulsed with great slaughter—Faithful conduct of the Rajah of Coorg.

From the date of this letter to Sir George Robinson, the public despatches of the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-General afford the most clear and satisfactory account of every operation of the campaign in Mysore. But they are too voluminous to be inserted here. The object which I profess in this memoir of doing justice to Lord Harris will be sufficiently answered by quotations from his public letters, his private journal, and other confirming testimony, relative to those events of the campaign which have been greatly misrepresented. These will abundantly fulfil the purpose I have in view, and at the same time establish "the fact, which," to use the language of the Duke of Wellington's *Despatches,* "is not sufficiently known, that General Harris himself conducted the details of the victorious army which he commanded."

From the 3rd of February to the 4th of March the Madras army was occupied in passing

through the Company's territories to Tippoo's frontier.

On the 5th of March General Harris forwarded to Tippoo Sultaun the Governor-General's letter, dated the 22nd of February*, published the declaration in the name of the allies†, and commenced hostilities by sending a detachment to take possession of the hill forts of Neildroog and Anchittydroog. These measures were in strict conformity to Lord Mornington's public instructions of the 22nd of February, 1799‡.

On the 6th of March General Harris reported to the Governor-General that the army under his command, accompanied by the contingent of his Highness the Nizam, then assembled within the frontier of Mysore, with every article of equipment which could be purchased without delay, of which the season would not admit, would commence its march towards Seringapatam on the following morning.

"In order to give to the force under Meer Allum Bahadur the utmost respectability, and render it equal to any service to which it might be exposed, General Harris had deemed it proper to strengthen the detachment under Colonel Roberts with an European regiment from his line," and as that officer had expressed a wish to be relieved from his command, he had placed his

* See Appendix. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Majesty's 33rd Regiment with the Nizam's contingent, giving to the Hon. Colonel Wellesley the general command of the British forces serving with his Highness's troops.

This arrangement, which was highly pleasing to Meer Allum Bahadur, added greatly to the confidence of his troops, and promised to render them essentially useful in assisting to protect the baggage and stores of the army. But as the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple with that detachment had merited every attention, General Harris considered this arrangement only temporary, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple as succeeding Colonel Roberts in the command of the subsidiary force, although at present, whilst acting with his Majesty's 33rd Regiment, necessarily subordinate to the Honourable Colonel Wellesley.

In the same letter General Harris reported to Lord Mornington that the small hill forts of Woodiadroog, Anchittydroog, and Ruttengerry, had been taken and occupied by the British troops, which would greatly facilitate Lieutenant-Colonel Read's endeavours to forward supplies for the army, to make arrangements in those parts of Tippoo Sultaun's dominions in the rear of our army, and to protect the Company's districts; and that it would be highly beneficial if measures were adopted at the Presidency without delay for

sending supplies of rice to such parts of the Barrahmahal as Colonel Read might point out, where brinjarries, returning to the army, would reload their cattle with it. General Harris closed this report with assuring the Governor-General that no endeavour on his part should be wanting to obtain that success which he was warranted to expect from the force he had the honour to command and his Lordship's liberal support.

From this time the Commander-in-Chief made regular reports of his progress through the enemy's country. These reports prove that he was soon severely pressed by those difficulties which Mr. Webbe and many experienced officers had apprehended would prevent the British army reaching Seringapatam with a large battering train, so as to reduce this strong fortress in one campaign before the Malabar monsoon should fill the river Cavery in May, and render the passage of the river impracticable.

From the month of June to the month of December in every year it was impossible for an army to approach Seringapatam; and Tippoo well knew the value of this singular advantage which this fort had over every other in India. But though nothing was seen of him, or any considerable portion of his troops, until the grand army was within forty miles of Seringapatam, on the 26th of March, the interval was one of

great anxiety to General Harris, from the failure, disease, and death of the cattle of the Carnatic, when urged to severe labour in dragging the guns, upon scanty food, and confined to the water impregnated with the soil of Mysore, to which they were unaccustomed.

After each day's march came a mournful catalogue of losses of stores, of shot (left with the dying cattle in the jungles and roads), and of rice, indispensable to the support of the fighting men of the army, and their fourfold, but unavoidable, number of followers. To replace these losses in the enemy's country was hopeless, and at one time they had accumulated so rapidly, that General Harris apprehended the necessity of dragging the guns forward by the hands of the Europeans. By unceasing attention to this, which was at that period the most urgent part of his duty and responsibility, he had at length the gratification of seeing his guns and stores safe in the open plain of Mysore, about forty miles from Seringapatam, having sustained no interruption of importance from the enemy.

It was, indeed, amongst the fortunate events which marked this campaign, that Tippoo's first efforts of stratagem and strength were directed against the troops of Bombay, on the opposite coast, before they had left the jungles of Coorg. To conceal his purpose, the Sultaun gave out at

Seringapatam, in the beginning of the month of March, that he was going to attack General Harris at Muddoor, intending, however, to proceed with all possible secresy and dispatch 200 miles in the opposite direction to Periapatam. There he accordingly arrived on the 5th of March, with the flower of his army, bent upon the destruction of a portion of the Bombay troops, before they could be succoured by the army to which they belonged. This design was, undoubtedly, well calculated to make a serious impression upon the strength of the Bombay troops, and to embarrass not only their future movements, but to delay the completion of the great object of the campaign, until the descent of the Cavery in the month of May should render it impracticable. Nor can one feel any surprise at this attempt. Tippoo had a strong encouragement to such an enterprise, in the remembrance of the complete destruction of Colonel Baillie's detachment, in the war of 1780 by his father Hyder Ally and himself, not thirty miles from Madras, and within ten miles of the army, under Sir Hector Munro, the commmander-in-chief. When he found, upon his arrival at Periapatam, three Native battalions separated from the Bombay army, and stationed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montrésor, at Sedaseer, he beheld them as the prey of his "tigers of war," for the following morning,

and stimulated their efforts accordingly. But the determined bravery with which Lieutenant-Colonel Montrésor and his gallant brigade of Sepoys defended themselves, held him at bay, until half past two o'clock in the day, when Lieutenant-General Stuart came to their relief with one European Regiment, the 77th, and the two flank companies of the 75th. The British detachment was in a most perilous condition, when General Stuart arrived at Lieutenant-Colonel Montrésor's post. He found the men exhausted with fatigue, and their ammunition almost expended. Tippoo had taken his measures with such secresy and effect, that he was reported by two hircarrahs, recently arrived in General Stuart's camp from Seringapatam, to have marched with all his forces on the 20th of February, to oppose General Harris's army, and, therefore, General Stuart had no reason to expect any attack on the Malabar side. But on the morning of the 6th of March, Tippoo pierced through the jungles with such expedition, that he attacked the rear and the front of Colonel Montrésor's line, almost at the same instant. That he would have succeeded in destroying this detachment, cannot be doubted, but for the accidental discovery of his encampment, on the 5th of March, by the Rajah of Coorg and a party of observation, whom he had conducted to the top of Sedaseer, the highest hill in his country, for the

purpose of looking into the Mysore territory. Their discovery of Tippoo's camp is well described in the following letter from the Rajah, to the Governor General.

"On Tuesday, the 5th of March, myself, Captain Mahony, and some other English sirdars, went to the hill of Sedaseer, which is within my territories. This mountain, which is exceedingly lofty, the English sirdars and myself ascended, and we remained there. Having from thence reconnoitred, we observed nothing for the first four or five hours (Malabar hours); after this we observed one large tent in the direction of Periapatam, which is within the territories of Tippoo Sultaun, and continued to see some other white tents rising; a large green tent then appeared, and then another tent which was red, and after that five or six hundred tents. Upon this, the English sirdars and myself were satisfied that it was the army of Tippoo Sultaun; we then returned to the English army at Sedapoor, and acquainted the General that Tippoo's army was at Periapatam. The army was accordingly prepared, as were also the battalions at Sedaseer, under the command of Colonel Montrésor. Next morning, Tippoo's army advanced close to the battalions under the command of Colonel Montrésor, and there was a severe action. After the battle commenced, the battalions put a great

many of Tippoo's people to death. Tippoo, unable to sustain their fire, and having no road by which to advance, divided his army into two divisions, with the intention of getting into the rear of Colonel Montrésor's battalions by a secret path. The Colonel having received intelligence of this division, made a disposition of his force so as to sustain both attacks; and maintained the fight from the morning, uninterrupted, till two o'clock. The enemy were beaten and unable to show their faces. When the information of Tippoo's attack reached the main body, General Stuart, in order to assist the force at Sedaseer, marched with two regiments of Europeans; keeping the remainder of the army in the plain of Karrydygood. Upon this occasion, I accompanied General Stuart.

"Tippoo, in order to prevent the two regiments from advancing to the relief of the troops at Sedaseer, was posted in the road between. General Stuart, upon approaching, ordered the two regiments to attack the enemy. A severe action then ensued, in which I was present with my people. Many of the enemy were slain, and many wounded; the remainder having thrown away their muskets, and swords, and their turbans, and thinking it sufficient to save their lives, fled in the greatest confusion.

"Tippoo having collected the remains of his troops, returned to Periapatam. Having consi-

dered for five days, but not having taken up resolution to attack the Bombay army again, he marched on the sixth day (Saturday) back to Seringapatam. My continual prayer to the Almighty is, that the English Circar may continue as my parent, that I may remain as their child; that all their enemies may be defeated; and that their territories, measures, and prosperity, may increase without end; and that I may enjoy peace under their protection. In this manner I approach the Sovereign Ruler with my constant prayer, night and day, and all times in humble supplication."

I have transcribed a great part of the Rajah of Coorg's letter to the Governor-General, that I may do an act of strict justice to him, and also to Lieutenant-Colonel John Montrésor, who was an officer of high reputation in the army, and much beloved by the troops who had served under him. He was, unfortunately, lost in too early life to his country's service from the climates of India and Egypt.

The joy with which the Rajah of Coorg witnessed the success of the British arms, his example of fidelity to us, and his prayers to the Almighty, have, I lament to hear, availed but little in favour of his posterity. His immediate successor became frantic, destroyed the greatest part of his own family, and rose in rebellion against

the Company, so that the jungles of Coorg are now under assumption by the British Government.

The following letter recorded by the Earl of Mornington, marks most strongly his sense of the services of the Rajah of Coorg, and greatly increases the regret inseparable from the necessity which has placed the poor country of Coorg in the Company's hands.

"To the GOVERNOR of BOMBAY.

"*Fort St. George, 8th May*, 1799.

"Sir,

"The exemplary conduct and distinguished character of the Coorg Rajah, having rendered me desirous of manifesting some public testimony of my approbation of his recent services; the remission of his annual tribute to the Company, appears to me a measure which would combine the effects of an honourable distinction and a profitable reward. My intention is, that of the whole amount of the Rajah's present tribute, which I understand to be about 24,000 rupees, a sum not exceeding a thousand rupees be reserved to the Company, or that in place of tribute, some article of value be annually required from him, as an acknowledgement of his allegiance to the British Government. I request that, after having determined the nature of the acknowledgement to be required according to

your own judgment, you will take the necessary measures for carrying my intentions into effect. I think the arrangement should be made to take place from the day of the junction of the army of Bombay with the detachment commanded by Major-General Floyd.

I am, &c.
MORNINGTON."

"*To the Governor of Bombay.*"

CHAPTER XVII.

Progress of General Harris's army through Tippoo's country.—Battle of Mallavelly.—Tippoo driven off with slaughter.—Disabled state of the draught and carriage cattle precludes the effectual pursuit of his army.—General Harris crosses the Cavery at Soosilly.—Encamps in view of Seringapatam.

Although imperfect rumours of the unsuccessful attack made upon Colonel Montrésor's detachment had reached the camp, a passage through Tippoo's country was then such a perilous undertaking, that no authentic intelligence was received by General Harris until the 25th of March. Two messengers then arrived, bringing letters of different dates from General Stuart. They highly commended the gallantry and skill with which Colonel Montrésor had defended his outpost against all Tippoo's attacks for several hours, thus giving time for General Stuart to arrive with the Europeans, and beat off the enemy with great slaughter.

On the following day, after marching about three miles, General Floyd sent an officer "to acquaint me" (says General Harris in his journal) "that he had drawn up in open column on the right of the road, as a large body of cavalry was on his right, and Tippoo's army in front.

"Sent two of my suite to General Floyd to see

how things appeared. Colonel Wellesley's column not having yet made its appearance, I directed ours to move very slow, and sent off two troopers with a note to him to move on briskly, but before he could get parallel, we had gained the rising ground the army was proposed to encamp upon, and found, if Tippoo was in our front, he was now moving off in the direction of Mallavelly.

"Some of my staff urged me to march to-morrow against Tippoo very early, leaving the park here; but to this I gave a decided negative. I told them my object was to set down before Seringapatam as speedily as possible; that the pains I had taken to be ready to fight Tippoo was entirely with the hope it would enable me to avoid it: that nothing but his stopping the high road should make me seek him."

This event happened on the following day. The Sultaun chose his own field of battle on the plain of Mallavelly; and I find this entry in the General's journal, written with that modesty and good feeling which were habitual to him at every period of his life.

"*March 27th.*—Let me only record my humble submission to that all-protecting Providence for the support I have found through this day—a scene new to me, and difficult, perhaps, to any one. To-morrow I shall attempt to describe the course of events.

"*March 28th for 27.*—Marched for Mallavelly

in the expectation of being cannonaded while crossing the swampy ground before it, but found it abandoned. On reconnoitring from a cavalier in the fort, we perceived Tippoo's army in motion about three miles from us, and I was much pleased to see he was going off. I directed the Quartermaster-General to mark out our ground, which he had scarcely effected, before a cannonade opened from two 24-pounders at so great a distance, that the balls fell dead. Observing that they fell amongst a brigade of sepoys, which had formed in column instead of line, and also that the picquets were going too far and too near a large body of horse moving from their ground of encampment, I went down with the design of changing the position of the brigade, and reinforcing the picquets, when several other guns opened, and the horse came so close to the picquets as to oblige them to give a fire of the division in front. Colonel Sherbrooke also sent me information that large bodies of infantry and cavalry were very near him.

"I ordered a regiment of cavalry to support him as quick as possible, and a native battalion to follow, when meeting Close, I agreed to adopt his idea of forming our line on the picquets to be ready, but still in the intention of only showing it. But the cannonade increasing, and information being brought me that there was a very large force in the hollow way beyond the ridge of the

hill, I thought it advisable to advance the line to see what they were. I soon perceived a large force of cavalry and infantry on the side of the next ridge apparently not retiring, and some force in the bottom.

"Judging it advisable to drive them away, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver's guns to open on them from the ridge of the hill we had formed the line under, and, under their cover, to advance on them in line, taking my post in rear of the brigade.

"On descending into the valley, I had soon good reason to be satisfied with having attacked them, as it was very evident they had intended to be more than usually troublesome; and it is very certain they were more than usually bold, for their infantry, instead of retiring (according to their former conduct) on our advancing, advanced on us, firing irregularly, and, as we understood afterwards, with the intention to charge our line, and to try the bayonet with us, by particular orders from Poorniah, who commanded. Their resolution, however, failed them; for, after a very feeble fire for a few minutes, and receiving a very heavy one from His Majesty's 12th Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Shawe, they ran off much too fast for me to allow our men to follow them.

"Besides, we had several large parties of horse close to us, and a part of one of them,

consisting of 300 men, under the influence of stimulants, were so daring as to charge the Scotch Brigade. Luckily I perceived their intention, and ordered the men to get ready, but not to fire till they came quite close. There was no time to call to the commanding officer, for the horse broke out from the jungle in the moment I had got the troops ready, when I gave the words 'Present' and 'Fire,' so opportunely, that about forty men and horses fell within twenty yards of us. One man was bayoneted by the grenadier company, and another cut through it close to me, the rest wheeling to their right, galloped along four or five regiments, and sustained their whole fire, without a man falling.

"The right wing now moved on in tolerable line, both the horse and infantry running before us much too fast for us to catch them; and here I may say the engagement with the right wing ended, although we followed them with a cannonade near two miles. We now halted, and remained a considerable time on the ground in search of water, but none of any consequence being found, I determined to fall back to Mallavelly. But while waiting to see if attempts would be made to annoy the rear, a party of infantry began to appear from a jungle in front of our right, and whilst doubting what they were, we saw a body we knew must be our picquets, under Colonel Sherbrooke, and the 25th Dragoons, under

Colonel Cotton*, supporting them. They had worked round the left flank of the enemy in a very masterly style, and had they made a second stand, would, no doubt, have done great service by charging them.

"I had great satisfaction in my staff, who who were all active and alert, but there was an animation in Allan that was delightful.

"Colonel Hart was particularly and kindly attentive, and Macleod, and Pearce, and Young as much so."

Here ends the Commander-in-Chief's account of his personal view of what passed in the right wing of the army.

The operations of the left wing are thus described:—

"The division commanded by Colonel Wellesley was formed nearly opposite the enemy's extreme right, which was strongly posted on the elevated crest of a rocky ridge. General Harris having sent an aide-de-camp to Colonel Wellesley, approving of the attack he proposed, and also to General Floyd to support it, Colonel Wellesley advanced in echellon of battalions, supported by three regiments of cavalry, when a column of the enemy, consisting of about 2,000 infantry, moved forward in excellent order towards the 33rd Regiment, which corps reserving its fire with the

* Now Viscount Combermere.

utmost steadiness, received that of the enemy at a distance of about sixty yards; then quickening its advance, the column gave way, and was thrown into disorder. General Floyd seized this critical moment, and with a charge of cavalry, led on by Major Dallas*, destroyed great numbers, and took their six standards. The retreat of the enemy soon became general, their cannon were drawn off, and, at two o'clock, the action had entirely ceased."

I find, in a memorandum written by Lord Harris not long before his decease, an explanation respecting this Mallavelly affair as follows:—

"There can be no doubt that the failure of this attempt decided the battle in Tippoo's mind, as his army instantly retreated; but Poorniah afterwards confirmed it to me, and explained his hope of breaking our line by these 300 devoted men, and then of pouring in his whole cavalry. What might have been the consequence had the attempt succeeded cannot be known; but it surely may be noted as a remarkable circumstance among the many in my fortunate *trajet* through this world, that as Commander-in-Chief of the army, I should be the executive agent to defeat

* Afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Dallas; whose deeds in the view of admiring armies throughout the wars of Coote, Medows, Cornwallis, and Harris, will be long remembered in India. He was as remarkable for the strength, symmetry and beauty of his person, as for his cool and daring courage.

this best proof of soldiership that I saw in my antagonist.

"It may disarm the envious (if any there are) to hear that I never mentioned the circumstance, and that probably it would have been quite forgotten, had not the captain of the grenadier company that day, now Major Cragie of the Perth Militia, put me in mind of it several years after it happened.

"I now recollect that the foregoing circumstance gave rise to another of some importance in the heat of fire, when moments are ages. On my first suspecting Tippoo's intention, I had ordered, I think, Major Allan to bring up a Native regiment of cavalry, that was covering us, and with orders to watch a large party of men on our right, and to support Colonel Cotton if necessary. It was commanded by Major Torin, and came up just as I had fired; when I immediately ordered an opening in the right of the 12th Regiment, and directed the Major to go in and cut the runaways up. He had scarcely got through the line, and was off in the gallop, when the firing began on our left. Recollecting the probability, that in the confusion our Native cavalry might be mistaken, I hallooed out, 'Major Torin, halt,' which he instantly obeyed, threw up his sword, and repeated the order to his regiment."

There was another qualification which General

Harris had for an occasion like this, besides quickness of sight and readiness of execution. He had one of the most powerful of human voices, and I have shown that he was in the position on this day where it could be exerted with the very best effect.

A sketch of the action near Mallavelly on the 27th of March, 1799, as made by Captain B. Sydenham, will give to the military reader a perfect understanding of the operations of that day*.

The efficient state of the Mysore gun cattle, and the miserable condition of the Carnatic bullocks, precluded all idea of a successful pursuit of Tippoo's army, and this gave him the confidence to venture upon the experiment of this battle on the high land of Mallavelly, and a finer field of action it would be difficult to find.

This affair cost to the British army only a loss of 66 men killed, wounded, and missing, whilst that of Tippoo was nearly 2,000, amongst whom were many of his bravest men and best officers. The entire failure of his two attacks of cavalry and infantry made a deep impression on the Sultaun's mind; but he prepared to obstruct the further march of the British army on the line by which he felt assured they would march from Mallavelly to Seringapatam, then little more than thirty miles distant.

On the following day the British army marched

* See Appendix.

about four miles towards the Cavery, and halted at Angarapooram, in the usual route to Seringapatam, where alone they could get water from the tanks. This necessity served to cover their nearer advance to the river, without exciting any suspicion in Tippoo's mind of the Commander-in-Chief's purpose in approaching it.

General Harris now prepared to execute the intention he had already formed and announced to Lord Mornington of crossing the Cavery near Soosilly, if it should appear possible, and of attacking Seringapatam on the western side, in order to facilitate the junction of the Bombay army from the confines of Coorg, and of the supplies of grain which were to come through the Caverypooram Pass, escorted by Colonels Read and Browne's detachments.

Major Allan, commanding the guides, and Captain Macaulay, General Harris's private secretary*, were accordingly sent from Angarapooram with the picquets of the cavalry on the evening of the 28th of March, to ascertain the distance of the Cavery, and to reconnoitre the country. They did not return till ten o'clock at night to the General's tent, and reported the distance to be about nine miles, through a fine open country, and the last three miles a gentle descent to the river.

* Afterwards General Colin Macaulay, a man of distinguished talents and integrity.

General Harris immediately determined to march to the Cavery in the morning; and as the secresy of this movement was essential to its success, it was communicated to no one until the moment for moving down to the river arrived. By this precaution the left wing of the army was actually across the Cavery before the day closed, whilst Tippoo was looking for them at a distance in the direct road to Seringapatam.

On the 30th the whole of the park and ordnance, and the remainder of the army, crossed the river, and encamped near the fort of Soosilly, where they found ample forage, some grain, and the public stock of provisions was recruited with a large supply of fine cattle and sheep.

When the intelligence of this masterly movement reached Tippoo, it filled him with despair. Having assembled the whole of his principal officers, "We have arrived," he said, "at our last stage; what is your determination?"—"To die along with you," was the universal reply.

That this march was equally judicious and beneficial cannot be doubted; for such was the exhausted state of the gun cattle, that General Harris could not reach the position he had determined to take up before Seringapatam in less than five days, although the distance was only twenty-eight miles, and his march undisturbed by any hostile attempt from Tippoo's army.

On the 4th of April, I find in the private jour-

nal this observation: "The poor miserable starved bullocks made out wonderfully, but some of the spare carriages were not in before nine o'clock in the evening."

The army had now arrived within three miles of the ground taken up by General Harris for the siege of Seringapatam.

But this vast mass of men, stores, battering guns, and followers, whose success depended mainly upon their early arrival at the place to be attacked, had not proceeded in the direct road, but in an irregular and angular direction, so as greatly to extend the distance to be marched*, and to the selection of this circuitous line must be attributed the comparative facility with which the army had reached its present encampment, because it had completely deceived the enemy, and preserved forage and water for the army. Their rate of marching, from the 11th of February to the 5th of April, had been only five miles per day, and this, notwithstanding the attention of the Commander-in-Chief and his principal officers was constantly directed to this most important of his duties; and, notwithstanding his enemy had offered no impediment to his march till after the tanks at Achel had been seized, and a position was taken up between Sultaunpet and Mallavelly, on the 25th of March.

This slow progress was entirely owing to the

* Their daily progress is shown in the Appendix.

complete failure of the system then in force for the draught and carriage departments. This defect in the organization of the Indian army had been felt from our earliest wars. It had been complained of by every succeeding Commander-in-Chief from the time of Sir Eyre Coote to that of Lord Cornwallis, but nothing had been done to amend it. With every new war the wild and small cattle of the Carnatic were to be purchased at whatever price, and attached to the guns without previous training, or experienced drivers; and hence it was that Hyder and Tippoo, from the great superiority of the Mysore cattle, defeated every attempt made by our commanders to overtake them in the field.

Daily experience of this great evil had pressed heavily upon General Harris's mind during this march, as it had done upon all who had preceded him in high military command, and especially upon Sir Eyre Coote. He declared after the battle of Cuddalore, "If Hyder Ally, buoyed up with former success, had not come to seek us, I could not have moved the army to follow him, and this is a situation so trying to the responsible military commander, that an officer of character shudders at the idea of being placed in such a predicament." This serious defect was effectually removed after this campaign*, for

* See in the Appendix an able paper on this subject by Colonel Cubbon; also Duke of Wellington's *Despatches*, vol. ii. p. 359.

General Harris immediately recommended the use and protection of Tippoo's admirable establishment of cattle, which was unequalled in India.

When he had the gratification of seeing his battering train safe before Seringapatam, and this fine fortress was once more within the view of an English army, and all eyes were looking with anxious solicitude upon the object of their wishes, he lost no time in publishing the following order to the troops.

"*Camp in view of Seringapatam, April* 4, 1799.

"The Commander-in-Chief takes this opportunity of expressing his deep sense of the general exertions of the troops throughout a long and tedious march in the enemy's country with the largest equipment ever known to move with any army in India. He congratulates officers and men on the sight of Seringapatam. A continuance of the same exertions will shortly put an end to their labours, and place the British colours in triumph on its walls."

CHAPTER XVIII.

The first operations of the siege, in which Major-General Baird, the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, and Colonel Shawe were engaged—Failure of the first and second attempts to maintain possession of the Sultaunpettah Tope—Success of the third, which gave us excellent posts extending two miles in front of the Fort—Letters from Colonel Wellesley to General Harris.

As the first operations of the siege have been much misunderstood and misrepresented, I shall here give the details, exactly as they are authenticated by three different but most competent authorities,—the private journal and public despatches of General Harris; the letters of Colonel Wellesley; and the confirming evidence of Major-General Baird.

In his Journal of the 4th of April, General Harris wrote as follows,—being then within three miles of Seringapatam.

"Commissioned General Baird to form a party of not less than the flank companies of the Brigade, supported by the picquets, to beat up a Tope in front of the ground the picquet was upon, and said to have parties of men with arms assembling on it.

"It appears to me from the report, they are

only intended for rocketting; but at any rate, our beating them up instead of their attempting us, will have the best effect. If our intelligence is true, Tippoo's whole army are in a complete state of terror. Of course we should keep it so."

General Baird accordingly proceeded on this service with the flank companies of His Majesty's 12th, 74th, and Scotch Brigade, and the battalion companies of the 74th; the advanced picquets were also directed to be in readiness in case they should be wanted. This party left the camp at ten o'clock at night, and arrived at the Tope at eleven. They traversed the whole without discovering a single person, for the enemy had quitted it before General Baird reached it, and no one was either heard or seen. A great part of the night having elapsed, General Baird determined not to remain in possession of the Tope, but to return to the camp. In doing so he missed his way, and was marching to the Fort, when Lieutenant Lambton (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Lambton, the celebrated surveyor and astronomer, who was upon his staff) convinced the General, from his observation of the stars, that he was going north instead of south, and that he must face about in order to regain the head-quarters of the camp. The party were accordingly halted, faced about, and in their return they fell in with a small detachment of

Tippoo's looties, some of whom they took prisoners, dispersing the rest. General Baird returned to the camp at four o'clock in the morning.

When the day dawned, a great number of the enemy were again seen going into this Tope, and as it lay between the camp and the Fort, General Hrrris determined to get possession of it, and also of the post occupied formerly by the Bombay troops, which extended farther to the westward and nearer to the Fort.

Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, with the 12th Regiment and two battalions of Sepoys, was directed to attack the post on the left, which was a water-course, with its embankment running between the Fort and the encampment. Colonel Wellesley was ordered to attack the Tope with the 33rd Regiment. It was with reference to this service that Colonel Wellesley wrote the following note to General Harris.

"COLONEL the HONOURABLE A. WELLESLEY to LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS, Commander-in-Chief.

"*Camp, 5th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"I do not know where you mean the post to be established, and I shall therefore be obliged to you if you will do me the favour to meet me this afternoon in front of the lines, and show it

to me. In the mean time, I will order my battalions to be in readiness.

"Upon looking at the Tope as I came in just now, it appeared to me that when you get possession of the bank of the nullah, you have the Tope as a matter of course, as the latter is on the rear of the former. However, you are the best judge, and I shall be ready.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

It should be remembered that this note was written on the day the Madras army encamped before Seringapatam, at the distance of 5,000 yards from the rampart, and when the intervening ground was very little known. The nearest part of the Sultaunpettah Tope to the camp was about 900 yards, and Shawe's post about 1,700 yards from the camp; but the watercourse, where it went through the Tope, ran in a serpentine direction, and the enemy were posted under the cover of its windings in the Tope, so that whichever way the attacking party placed its front, it was flanked by them.

The two parties, under Colonel Shawe and Colonel Wellesley, left the camp at eight o'clock in the evening; at nine, heavy firing of musketry was heard every where in front, and information was brought to the camp, that the two Sepoy

battalions were separated from the 12th Regiment, which was in possession of the watercourse, and that not a shot had been fired by the 12th.

It afterwards appeared that Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver's battalion of Sepoys getting into confusion, paid no regard to orders, and that Major Campbell, who commanded, was killed, while endeavouring to rally them. Colonel Shawe was then present with that battalion, having gone in search of it, and found it in this confused situation, firing in every direction, but refusing to come forward. Colonel Shawe, with the utmost difficulty and danger, at last found his way back to his own regiment.

The other Sepoy battalion, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, had moved more forward to a part of the same watercourse; the fire of the enemy coming thick upon them, they fell back on the left of the 12th Regiment, and there remained, by Colonel Shawe's orders, until day-light, sheltered under the mud walls near to the 12th Regiment.

Colonel Wellesley entered the Tope with the flank companies of the 33rd Regiment, supported by the battalion companies under Major Shee. He was immediately assailed by a hot fire in front and flank from the enemy, and in the unevenness of the ground and the darkness of the night, the advanced party was separated from the regiment, Lieutenant Fitzgerald and several of the men

were killed, and some missing. Lieutenant West with a few grenadiers arrived at the main picquet about ten o'clock. Major Shee, with five companies of the 33rd, lost his way, and fell in with Colonel Shawe, and took shelter under the embankments of the watercourse, where he remained till daylight, and then returned to the camp. He could give no other information than that they had separated, and that Colonel Wellesley and one company were missing. Colonel Wellesley arrived at the Commander-in-Chief's tent at twelve o'clock, and reported the failure of his attack on the Tope, which is thus noted in General Harris's Journal.

"6*th April*, 1799. Remained under great anxiety till near twelve at night, from the fear our troops had fired on each other. Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe very soon reported himself in possession of the post, but a second firing commenced, and as he had previously sent to know what had become of the two Native battalions, I could not be satisfied but that, in the dark, they had mistaken each other. It proved that all the firing was from the enemy, his Majesty's 12th Regiment scarcely firing a shot the whole night. Near twelve, Colonel Wellesley came to my tent in a good deal of agitation, to say he had not carried the Tope. It proved that the 33rd, with which he attacked, got into confusion, and could not be formed, which was great pity, as it must be par-

ticularly unpleasant to him. Altogether, circumstances considered, we got off very well. General Baird's expedition of last night so far answered our expectations, as he fell in with a small party of the enemy's horse, and cut up eight or ten of them, which will tend to prevent their plaguing us with rockets, I trust. He missed his road coming back, although one would have thought it impossible; no wonder night attacks so often fail."

At daylight on the 6th of April large bodies of Tippoo's infantry crossed over from the Island and the Fort to support those in the Tope and water-course, and under cover of the houses and mud walls; a considerable number of cavalry also took post in the rear of the Tope. Every movement of the enemy manifested a determination to drive Colonel Shawe from the post which he had taken in the early part of the night, and still retained possession of with His Majesty's 12th Regiment and one battalion of Sepoys.

When General Harris saw the extent of the enemy's preparations, he made all the dispositions he thought necessary both to support Colonel Shawe, and to execute successfully his intention, which had failed in the two preceding nights, of driving the enemy out of the Sultaunpettah Tope, and maintaining possession of it.

The Scotch Brigade and two battalions of Sepoys were first ordered for this service, under

the command of Colonel Wellesley; but when more of Tippoo's infantry and cavalry were seen marching in that direction, General Harris ordered four 12-pounders, covered by four companies of Sepoys, to take post within about 400 yards of the Tope, in order to fire into it, while Colonel Wellesley was marching to the attack; and the 25th Regiment of Light Dragoons, under the command of Colonel Cotton, now Lord Combermere, and the 2nd Regiment of Native Cavalry, under Colonel Pater, were directed to support the right flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace was also sent down with the grenadier company of the 74th Regiment, and four companies of Sepoys, to occupy a rock on Colonel Shawe's left, and prevent the enemy's galling the troops on that flank during the attack.

When all was ready, Colonel Wellesley was not present; and as General Harris had ordered that he should command, he could not comprehend why he was absent, especially when so much time had elapsed whilst the additional forces were marching down to their allotted stations.

After waiting a little longer, and inquiring from his staff what could be the reason of Colonel Wellesley's absence, General Harris became uneasy and apprehensive that the favourable moment for the attack would be lost; and he directed General Baird, who was on the spot, to take the command, and proceed to the attack. General Baird im-

mediately drew his sword, and, turning his horse, rode towards the column for this purpose. He had not moved many paces, when General Harris called him back, and said, "On further consideration, I think that we must wait a little longer for Colonel Wellesley," in which General Baird expressed his hearty concurrence.

Colonel Wellesley appeared in a few moments afterwards, having, by an omission in the Adjutant-General's office, been only just then warned for the duty. He instantly took the command of the troops, and proceeded to the attack.

As the troops approached the Tope, the 12-pounders opened, and threw in a heavy fire in different directions into it. Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe at the same time ordered his battalion-guns to fire in that direction, but remained quiet with the infantry. As the troops moved on to the attack, the 12-pounders ceased.

The head of the column soon approached the left of the Tope, when they formed and entered, advancing in line with their guns. The firing then commenced, but the shot from the 12-pounders had dispersed the enemy considerably, so that not much resistance was made, and in less than twenty minutes Colonel Wellesley had complete possession of the post which had caused so much confusion and anxiety the two preceding nights. When this object was accomplished Colonel Shawe moved out at the head of the

12th Regiment, which had continued under a heavy fire during the whole night, and up to this hour of the morning, without returning a single shot. They now received Colonel Shawe's orders to advance, and, placing himself at their head, they rushed gallantly forward, and, at the point of the bayonet, drove from the watercourse, with considerable slaughter, the troops which had filled it from the Fort. Thus was secured the complete possession of strong and well-connected posts of nearly two miles, forming an excellent parallel, well covered from the Fort, and within a mile distant from it.

I have stated all the circumstances of the well-timed and well-executed attacks of this day in such detail, and exactly as they occurred, because they have been very differently related by Mr. Hook and other persons. To remove all doubt of the accuracy of this statement, so far as General Harris, General Baird, and Colonel Wellesley are concerned, I shall here insert the account given by Sir David Baird himself, only the year before he died, to Colonel Meyrick Shawe, of the circumstances which took place on the morning of the 6th of April, 1799:—

"In the month of October, 1828, I passed some days with Sir David Baird at his residence, Fernton, near Crief, in Perthshire, and had a great deal of conversation with him relative to the campaigns of 1791 and 1792, in Mysore, when I served with him in the army under Lord Corn-

wallis, and also respecting the memorable campaign of 1799, when I was not present.

"In the course of conversation, I inquired whether a statement was correct, which I had not heard in India, but which had recently been circulated in this country, that he, Sir David Baird, had declined the command of the troops assembled on the morning of the 6th of April, 1799, to take possession of the Tope and post of Sultaunpettah, which had been attempted, without success, by Colonel Wellesley on the preceding night, and that he had represented to General Harris (who had proposed the command to him,) the injustice of conferring it upon any other person than Colonel Wellesley.

"Sir David Baird immediately replied,—'The statement is very incorrect, although there is a mixture of truth in it, and it is especially very unjust to Lord Harris. The facts are these. The troops destined for this service were assembled early on the morning of the 6th of April. General Harris was on the spot on horseback, and several officers of rank, as well as myself, were present as spectators. But Colonel Wellesley was absent, although it was generally understood that he was to command the attack. We afterwards learnt that, by some accident, Colonel Wellesley was not warned for that duty, and, of course, he did not attend, but waited in his tent for the usual order or summons.

"'As the morning advanced, General Harris became impatient and apprehensive that the favourable moment for the attack would be lost by further delay; and he directed me to take the command, and proceed to the attack. I certainly was surprised and embarrassed by this unexpected order, which I felt would interfere with Colonel Wellesley. But I need not remark to you, or to any soldier, that it would have been impossible for me to show any hesitation,

or to make any observation, upon receiving an order from the Commander-in-Chief to proceed forthwith and assume an arduous and honourable service.

"'I made no reply, but drew my sword, and, turning my horse, I rode towards the column. I had not moved many paces, when General Harris called me back, and said, "I think, upon reflection, that we must wait a little longer for Colonel Wellesley."

"'I then expressed to General Harris, in the hearing of all around us, my great satisfaction at this determination, because I felt that it could not fail to be painful and mortifying to Colonel Wellesley, if any other person was employed to complete the operation which he had begun.

"'General Harris's mind was obviously influenced by the same reflections, when, of his own accord, he recalled me, and it is therefore unjust to ascribe to any one else, whatever merit may belong to it.

"'Colonel Wellesley (who I presume was sent for as soon as the mistake was discovered,) appeared in a few moments afterwards, and, taking the command of the troops, he led the attack, which, in a short time, was completely successful.'

"In the hand-writing of MEYRICK SHAWE, Colonel."

The following letters from Colonel Wellesley to General Harris abundantly prove that neither the failure of the attack on the night of the 5th, nor the accidental waiting for Colonel Wellesley on the morning of the 6th of April, (from no fault of his,) interrupted for a moment those feelings of perfect confidence and kindness which prevailed between the Commander-in-Chief and Colonel Wellesley:—

"*Camp, 6th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—I find that by moving Malcolm's corps to the rear a little, and by an arrangement of my posts on my right and rear, I shall be able to protect Meer Allum, the brinjarries, the park, and the cavalry, from any attempts that may be made by horse and rocket boys, which alone seems to me to be destined to annoy us in that quarter.

"I shall now go out, and see what support I can give to my post at Sultaunpettah, and will report to you on my return. I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"*Camp, 7th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—I shall be much obliged to you if you will let me know whether you think the guards for the outposts can now be reduced a little, as between foraging parties and outline picquets, we have not men enough left to give a relief. The outline picquets were not relieved this morning for want of men. You were talking yesterday of looking at these posts this afternoon, and if you have an inclination, I will go with you at any hour you may appoint. I think I can show you a situation where two embrasures might be opened in the bank of the nullah with advantage, and that would add to the strength of the post.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"3 P.M. *7th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—A body of horse, of about seven or eight hundred, has passed, and is getting round by my right and your rear. They keep clear of our picquets, and are most probably a reconnoitring party.

"They have some few straggling horsemen with them, but I have seen no infantry.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"*Camp, 7th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to inform you that the foragers are coming in fast, well loaded with forage, and I have therefore ordered the battalion to stay where it is, ready to turn out, but (as battalions are now scarce articles) not to move till further orders.

"The body of cavalry has passed our right flank, and seems inclining rather to its left. It appears more like a line of march than a body intended for a *coup de main*, as there are with it bullocks and baggage of different kinds. At all events, it can do our right no harm, as, excepting by the high road, which Malcolm's corps will cover as soon as it shall have moved, no cavalry can approach us.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"I see the cavalry has come more round our right, and I have, therefore, ordered the battalion on to the high road, where it will afford protection to the foragers coming in, as well as to the rear of our camp, should they be inclined to molest it."

"*Camp, 7th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—I have drawn back the battalion, as the foragers are come in, and the cavalry have disappeared. As soon as Schoey's brigade shall have taken up its ground, we shall have four field-pieces, at least, bearing upon that road. When I shall have an opportunity of looking at it again, I will let you know whether they will be sufficient, or what will.

"I have fourteen 6-pounders, of which eight are out of the lines at the outposts and picquets.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"*Camp, 7th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—Since I returned home, I have received a report from the outposts in Sultaunpettah, that some infantry had passed, this evening, in the same direction in which the cavalry passed this morning, and there are some persons in this camp who say they saw guns pass likewise.

"I have not received a report from my picquets in my front; when I do, I will let you know what it is.

"At all events, I am prepared for him, if his attack is directed against this flank of your line, whether it be made by day or by night; I do not intend to relieve the outposts until after it is ascertained whether or not he intends to make his push here: if he does attack us here, he will probably attack the outposts at the same time, and, in that case, we must depend upon your line for the support of our posts.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"*Camp, 7th April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,—The field officer of the day was at the picquet in my front till sunset; saw cavalry pass, but no infantry or guns.

I am, my dear Sir, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

The extracts which I have already given from General Harris's private journal show how little he was disquieted by Colonel Wellesley's separa-

tion from the troops in the darkness of the night of the 5th of April, 1799; the accident so extravagantly described by Mr. Hook, "as spreading like wildfire through the camp." The foregoing notes and letters in the Duke's handwriting (of which the originals are now lying before me,) prove also that his serenity was not at all disturbed by this occurrence, or by the accidental omission of the Adjutant-General's office on the morning of the 6th of April. They show, at the same time, the terms upon which he was with his General before, and subsequent to, the attacks of the Sultaunpettah Tope on the night of the 5th and the morning of the 6th of April. Here are no less than six reports from Colonel Wellesley to his Commander-in-Chief in the course of a single day respecting the different movements of the enemy he was watching, and those which in his opinion would meet them, all written in the clearest manner and in the kindest spirit towards his superior officer, anxious to know distinctly what he desired to have done, and to do it effectually.

The impression left upon the mind of General Harris by this Sultaunpettah Tope affair, which has been so misrepresented and exaggerated, is distinctly shown in the following public despatch to the Governor-General.

"*Camp before Seringapatam, April* 7, 1799.

"My Lord,

"After crossing the Cavery on the 30th ult. at Soosilly, where the army halted the next day, I advanced by easy marches to this place, and took up my position on the 5th of this month. Wishing to occupy the post where General Abercromby's picquets were attacked in 1792, and the large tope and village of Sultaunpettah, both were attacked the night of our arrival; but, owing in great measure to the darkness of the night, the attempt on the first only was partially successful. We sustained some loss from the fire of the enemy, which was continued heavily till late next morning, when the posts were again attacked with perfect and rapid success. They give us a strong position, and greatly confine that of the enemy. Major-General Floyd, with four cavalry and six infantry corps, twenty field-pieces, and a body of the Nizam's horse, marched on the morning of the 6th to join General Stuart. This force is considered superior to any thing that can possibly be opposed to it by the enemy. The army has taken up its position for the siege.

I have the honour to be,
&c., &c., &c.,
GEORGE HARRIS.

"*The Earl of Mornington.*"

This letter proves beyond all doubt that these

operations did not interrupt for a moment General Harris's feelings of perfect confidence in Colonel Wellesley, from whom he was daily receiving all the aid this accomplished officer could afford in the progress of the siege. But the situation in which all parties had been placed by the partial success of the preceding night, and the accidental omission of the Adjutant-General's office in the morning, was painful and critical; for they encouraged and enabled Tippoo to send more troops from the Fort; but these very circumstances turned much to our advantage. They made our success much more important, and his loss considerably greater. Tippoo's attention was, moreover, so entirely engrossed by the operations then going on, that the march of General Floyd, to bring the Bombay army from Periapatam, was unheeded, and he thereby gained twenty-four hours' start, for Cummur-ud-Deen was not sent with Tippoo's cavalry in pursuit until the next day.

These considerations entirely outweighed in General Harris's mind the little annoyance arising from the failures of the two preceding nights, and the omission of the Adjutant-General's office on the morning of the 6th. He had himself too often shared in the perils and chances of war not to make due allowance for occasional failures, and for accidental omissions; and therefore, the danger from which General Baird and his party had

escaped on the night of the 4th, when he was marching into the hands of the enemy, and that from which Colonel Wellesley had escaped on the night of the 5th, left no other impression on his mind in regard to either, than a determination to have no more night attacks, being satisfied that, if they failed under such officers, there could be no hope of success under any other. But when the day for heroic deeds arrived, these were the very officers who received the highest marks of his confidence; General Baird was appointed to command the assault of Seringapatam, Colonel Wellesley to succour him if he should be beaten off.

I find recorded in General Harris's Journal a just tribute of his admiration of the gallantry displayed on this day by Colonel Robert Shawe, one of his old comrades at the battle of the Vigie.

He says, "Colonel Shawe's post had been much fired on all the time the preparations for Colonel Wellesley's attack were going on, and I had been obliged to advance a six-pounder and three companies of Sepoys to cover his rear, and thought it advisable to strengthen them by the grenadier companies of the 74th, and four companies of Sepoys, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, with the intention he should turn the flank of the people opposed to Colonel Shawe when Colonel Wellesley's attack commenced.

The effect of the attack was very fine; and Shawe advanced several yards on the bank the enemy had annoyed him from, leading on the grenadiers, which placed him in a most glorious point of view."

Nor is it irrelevant here to notice an instance of the gallantry of one of Tippoo's youthful sirdars on this occasion. Hussein Ally Cawn, a jagheerdar and nobleman of high rank, on seeing his troops retreat from the Tope, charged a party of the 2nd Battalion 7th Regiment with a few of his adherents; and though he succeeded in getting through, was immediately afterwards shot. Some of his relations were permitted, after the action, to approach the battalion, and to carry away his body, which was put into a dooley, and sent, with his grateful followers, under the escort of a sepoy, over to the island. The sepoy and the dooley-bearers were rewarded by the Cawn's people, and faithfully escorted back to their post. But in this evidence of good and gallant feeling on both sides, the Sultaun did not share; his sullen and ferocious nature remained unchanged to the last, as was cruelly exhibited in the cold-blooded murder of his European prisoners only a few days before his death.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Harris's Journal of the Siege—Daily progress of the Siege before the assault.

On the day after Colonel Wellesley had carried the Sultaunpettah post, General Harris walked down with General Baird and Macleod to the advanced post, and "found it," as his Journal states, "very strong against such an enemy as we have to deal with, and which may, with a little work, be made very strong against any; how fortunate thus to find a good parallel prepared to our hands!

"A long line of cavalry seen coming out of the Fort about twelve; reported at three, by Colonel Wellesley, to have come more round our right, and that he has, therefore, ordered the battalion we spoke of (when looking what they were about) on the road which leads to Periapatam.

"Our foraging party coming in fast, but this cannot be their object, or they would move more rapidly than they have done. It may perhaps be an intended attack on Floyd when returning.

"Great many of us much fatigued. Our duties pretty severe, but if the whole is not pressed on with vigour, we shall fail, for no doubt there will be more difficulties to overcome, than we yet foresee.

"*8th.*—Visited the post taken possession of by Colonel Wellesley on the 6th instant. Found it a continuation of the nullah which makes Shawe's post, but not so favourable in that part for keeping hold of.—Directed a burnt village on a rise above the nullah to be made the right-hand post, by barricading the streets and cutting down the walls to six feet, thickening them next the Fort, and putting a banquet within.

"Brisk cannonade from the Fort. Colonel Close brought Dallas and Hart to speak in favour of the bullock-owners, and to point out to me the certain ruin a muster would be to them. After long discussion, agreed to postpone it. But there's no being aware of the roguery of those who live in a camp. At last, got a sketch of our camp from Beatson, not accurate, but sufficiently clear to prove we are very strongly posted.

"*Tuesday, 9th.*—Visited the ordnance department—rather in fear and doubt of its state. Much pleased to find Lieutenant Colonel Carlisle quite confident he had a good report to make me of those articles he had not yet been able to ascertain.

"Gave some directions for the further security of the powder, and came away easier in my mind than I expected.

"A letter from Tippoo to me brought about ten.

"Its purport to inquire the meaning of the

advance of the English armies, and inclosing copy of Lord Mornington's letter, February 22nd. Insolent enough*—but, under Providence, I trust he will be humbled.

"Directed the chief engineer to give me a plan for the attack of the Fort without going on the Island, and another with possession of a certain part of it. Both regulated under the idea of our being established on both sides of the river.

"10*th*.—Visited the chief engineer, and the village on the right, where Captain Mackenzie is making a post, and gave all the necessary directions upon the necessity of exertion, and of distributing our working parties methodically. If this be not attended to, we shall be ruined.

"11*th*.—Visited the whole rear of the encampment; altered one picquet to a pagoda on the bank of the Cavery, with orders to communicate with Captain Schoey's picquets on its left, and prize agent's guard. This forms a complete chain of sentries round the rear, an extent of many miles.

"12*th*.—Employed Agnew and Beatson in ascertaining the ford on the Cavery, where General Abercromby passed in 1792, and Sydenham to examine the ground from the river to the

* This was the first notice he had taken of Lord Mornington's letter of the 22nd of February and the Declaration of the Allies.

point proposed for Shawe's right, in order to prevent his coming round a march of some miles, whereas the short cut is about a mile.

"Wrote to Malcolm to send us a daily report of work done by his people; no intimation from Floyd.

"Many of our young men complaining. James Lushington very ill in sick tope, when I imagined him gone with his corps to meet General Stuart. Had his tent pitched in the rear of mine.

"13*th*.—When the difficulties and delays attending the getting a large equipment out of a jungle are considered, and of these, we are tolerable judges, we need not be uneasy, although General Floyd should not arrive before the 15th. But, knowing that all the enemy's horse are detached to annoy him, we cannot but be anxious. At the same time, there is every moral certainty, they cannot do anything that will now impede the siege.

"Visited Shawe's post; much satisfied with the view of the western angle, as it proves there is plenty of ground to form on, clear of the river and rocks.

"A man of Captain Macleod's just come in from the Island. Reports that General Floyd's moving on the morning of the 6th, gave him twenty-four hours' entire start of the enemy, and our attacking their posts the same day, took them in in every way.

"Engineers and Beatson united in opinion on the point of attack.

"*Sunday, the 14th.*—Took the 25th Dragoons and the 2nd Regiment of Cavalry, with a large party of Nizamites, to meet Floyd; did not get in till past six, owing to the jaded state of the bullocks."

I have made these lengthened extracts from General Harris's Journal, in confirmation of the fact that he did himself conduct the details of his victorious army. On his return to camp with the Bombay army, he had the gratification of finding an hurkarrah, or native messenger, from the Governor-General, with the following letter in his own hand-writing. It was written on both sides of a very narrow slip of paper, and was sealed up in a quill, that the man to whom it was intrusted might conceal it about his person in his journey through Tippoo's country, or swallow it, if necessity compelled him to do so. This precaution was adopted, because both Hyder and Tippoo were in the constant practice of ordering such messengers to be hanged whenever they were found.

"*Gardens, 3rd April,* 1799.

"My dear General,

"I sincerely congratulate you on the complete success of the 27th ultimo; I trust that you will continue to prosper until you have effected

your object; I know you have experienced difficulties in moving your prodigious equipment; but I trust you will have brought it to bear against Seringapatam before you can receive this note. All are well here, and satisfied with your conduct and happy in your success. Mrs. Harris is very well. I am delighted with our allies, the Nizamites. I imagine you do not now repent the detachment from the Central Division in August last. Do not allow Arthur to fatigue himself too much. I conclude that you are all in good humour, as you have all done so well.

Believe me always,

Yours, most faithfully,

M."

The Journal of General Harris thus continues:—

"Got the Europeans in Shawe's post covered from the sun and dews.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Reade's move towards the Caverypooram Pass is of the greatest consequence.

"A 24-pound beat shot fell in the cords of my dining tent; supposed a range of 5,200 yards.

"15*th*.—No supplies for us with the Bombay army. Their supplies for themselves scarcely equal to ours. From a mortality amongst their bullocks, they have lost nearly 4,000. This is one

of the accidents of war which cannot be provided against.

"16*th*.—Received the chief engineer's plan for the attack on the western angle of the Fort, and directed him to take care that no delay may occur in constructing the necessary works. Ordered him to transmit to me regularly the number and nature of the working parties he would require, that every assistance in the power of the army might be given to accelerate the progress of the works.

"I am sorry to add that this day, on measuring our rice to ascertain the exact quantity in store, we discovered that, from loss or fraud, the bags were so extremely deficient, that only eighteen days' rice, at half allowance, is in camp for the fighting men.

"Unless Colonel Reade's supplies arrive before the 6th of May, the army will be without provision.

"There is plenty in the Coorg country, but we have no means to convey or escort it hither.

"But I hope to be in Seringapatam before the end of the month.

"17*th*—Visited General Stuart and his outposts; much afraid he has not fifteen days' rice in the camp. Anxious times. Found the enemy very busy at work on the post we meant to seize for our battery. This determined me to make the attack as soon as possible.

"The party to consist of the 74th and 75th, and two battalions of Sepoys. Met the 74th on my return. Shook hands with George (his eldest son, now Lord Harris, then in the 74th) and bid him 'do his duty.'"

The more active operations of the siege commenced from this time. At 4 P.M., a detachment of the Bombay army, consisting of His Majesty's 75th Regiment, and two battalions of Sepoys, supported by the 74th Regiment and a battalion from the main army, all under the command of Colonel Vaughan Hart, attacked and drove the enemy from their posts near the village of Agrar, on the north side of the river, with the greatest gallantry. The troops advanced under a severe cannonade, and took possession of the ruins of an old redoubt and village, about 900 yards distant from the east angle of the Fort. A breast-work was thrown up on the left of the ruins, which afforded good cover for the troops, and a battery for six 18-pounders completed in the course of the night, on the right of the redoubt, to enfilade the enemy's intrenchment on the south side of the river. This attack was supported by the fire of two 12-pounders from the right of Shawe's post.

About the time of this attack, another was made on a nullah, called the Little Cavery, about 500 yards in advance of Shawe's post, which was

taken possession of by the 2nd Battalion 12th Regiment of Native Infantry, and hence called, from the name of the commandant, "Macdonald's Post." The nullah was filled with water by a dam joining the south bank of the river, and an island west of Montrésor's; it ran parallel to the river, as far as the eastern extremity of Montrésor's Island, where it struck off, nearly at right angles, and afforded good cover for 600 yards. Hence, it took a turn to the Fort, and for a short distance was enfiladed. But it was afterwards secured, and used to cover the troops and the engineers' tools and materials. Upon the result of these attacks, General Harris noted in his Journal:

"7 P. M. Success in all our attempts, and with very little loss.

"18*th*.—We have no other account of Colonel Reade, and none of Colonel Browne from any quarter; this is extremely distressing. Distance of depôt, weakness and want of cattle, and difficulty of sparing convoy sufficiently strong, render our large Coorg supplies of no immediate use.

"19*th*.—Twenty-four years since the fight of Lexington. Disagreeable enough that was, but to our present situation it was ease and plenty, for Stuart sent his commissary, to acquaint me he had but two days' provision in camp for his Europeans.

"Ordered a quantity equal to eight days' consumption for his use, which leaves us, by Corner's report, sixteen, but this, allowing for casualties, should be called twelve.

"*20th, 21st.*—Detailing the progress of the siege.

"*22nd.*—We want only provisions and cattle at present. Of rice, we have collected, by various modes, enough to subsist our fighting men to the middle of May.

"*23rd.*—Made a special report to the Governor-General on this subject.

"*25th.*—A violent storm of wind and rain last night; the appearance of the weather very monsoonish; trust we shall not have more rain, or it will be next to impossible to get our guns into the batteries. Providence directs all things for the best; then let us bow down in humble resignation.

"*Friday, 26th.*—Our new battery and the altered one opened, and very soon had every success expected. Ordered the men an extra dram.

"Determined to attack the enemy's post in our front and right in the evening.

"Disposition made and communicated to Col. Wellesley, who commanded in the trenches, with the 73rd Scotch Brigade, 2nd Battalion Bengal Volunteers, the 2nd Battalion 3rd Regiment Coast Sepoys.

"*27th.*—The attack had all the success possible, but we have sustained more loss than usual."

This operation was the most important of all that took place before the assault; it furnished the ground where the breaching batteries were to be erected, and when Tippoo discovered the position of our troops on the morning of the 27th, he made so violent an attack upon them from the guns of the Fort, and from the stone bridge, that Colonel Sherbrooke (as stated in General Harris's Journal) "was afraid he should not be able to sustain his right flank. Ordered to keep it to the last extremity; succeeded, and all quiet from nine or thereabouts."

As this was the last effort of any vigour made by Tippoo, it is worthy of being detailed.

Colonel Wellesley's order for the attack was as follows:—

"The troops are to move out in two divisions, one to the right from the four-gun battery, consisting of four companies of the 73rd Regiment, supported by four companies from the 2nd Battalion Bengal Volunteers, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moneypenny; the left division to consist of four companies of the Scotch Brigade, supported by four companies of the 2nd Battalion Bengal Volunteers, under the command of Major Skelly."

At the hour proposed the guns from our

batteries commenced a heavy fire of grape, which was the signal for the attack. The Europeans then moved out, followed by the Native troops. The enemy, seeing this movement, began an active fire from behind their breastwork; guns from almost every part of the Fort opened upon our troops with great effect, and, by the time they had quitted the trenches, the fire of cannon and small arms was general. The companies from the 73rd Regiment and Scotch Brigade then pushed on with great rapidity to the enemy's works, who, seeing the determined spirit of English troops, fled from their posts in great confusion and dismay; but many fell by the bayonet while endeavouring to escape.

The relief from the trenches, which was this evening commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, had by this time arrived; a part of the 74th Regiment, and the Regiment De Meuron, composed the Europeans of that relief, and were ordered immediately to advance to support the rest. These pushed on to the right of the attack. A heavy fire was continued from the ramparts, and by those of the enemy who had fled from the part of their intrenchments first attacked, and taken post behind the traverses more to the right; several made a desperate stand, and fell by the bayonet; the Europeans dashed in, forcing the traverses in succession, until they had extended as far as the turn of the nullah towards the stone bridge. At

this turn there is a redoubt, open to the south-east angle of the Fort, but which flanked a water-course running parallel and close to the intrenchment that was carried. This redoubt was stormed by the 74th Regiment, and left in their possession, while Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with a small party of that corps, and a few men from the Regiment De Meuron, pushed forward along the intrenchments and the road, till he came to the bridge leading over the great river, Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace at the same time advancing considerably more to the right, till fearful of risking too many lives while acting in the dark, he prudently fell back, and took possession of the enemy's post at the stone bridge, on the road to Shawe's post; but this post being too much detached from the main body of the troops, he withdrew the party left to defend it during the night.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell crossed the bridge, and went some distance on the Island; but it was necessary to make an immediate retreat from that dangerous situation, and nothing but the night and the consternation of the enemy could have given the smallest chance for the party to escape. They returned under a heavy fire from all sides, and made their way back to the redoubt, where Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace had taken post with the few of the 74th Regiment who had remained with him, and the rest of the troops whom

he had placed to the left along the watercourse, which runs close to the intrenchment, and in this situation they remained all night, exposed to grape from the Fort, and galled by the musquetry from the ground on the right flank, and from the post at the stone bridge, which took them in the rear.

The enemy continued firing grape and musquetry at intervals the whole night; at length the daylight appeared, and discovered both to us and to them the critical state of our men. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell having been crippled the preceding night by being barefooted during his excursion across the bridge, was obliged to return to camp, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace being next in command, he sent to inform Colonel Sherbrooke of their situation, and to request further support, as the enemy were collecting in great force on the right flank, and at the post they occupied near the stone bridge, from which they galled our people in the rear to a great degree. Colonel Sherbrooke, on receiving this report, instantly ordered all the Europeans who had remained in the trenches to advance to Colonel Wallace's post, and each man to take with him a pickaxe, or momitie*. Colonel Wallace, in the mean time, seeing the necessity of dislodging

* A sort of spade, used throughout India in the removal of earth, and very efficient in the hands of those who are accustomed to it. It is chiefly employed in the formation of those magnificent reservoirs for water, to which the Peninsula owes its fertility.

the enemy from the bridge, ordered Major Skelly, with a few men of the Scotch Brigade, to move down and attack that post. He was followed by a company from that regiment, and soon got possession.

The Europeans had by this time arrived from the trenches, and by their exertion and the assistance of the pioneers, an intrenchment was thrown up and completed by ten o'clock; but from the dawn of day to that hour continued efforts were made by the garrison to regain what had been lost, but in vain. The determined bravery of our troops baffled all their endeavours. The post gained at the bridge secured the rear of the other, and presented a new front to the enemy; it was strengthened by another company from the 74th Regiment and two companies of Sepoys, and in a short time the whole of them were under cover.

The loss on this occasion was great. Two officers and 60 men killed, 10 officers and 216 men wounded; 19 men also missing; altogether, killed, wounded, and missing, 307 officers and men.

CHAPTER XX.

The breaching batteries open with great effect—Report from Colonel Wellesley, commanding officer in the trenches—General Harris resolves to storm the Fort next day—Communicates his intention to General Stuart—That officer's answer—General Baird appointed to command the troops in the assault.—His instructions.—Seringapatam falls.—Tippoo killed in the assault with thousands of his troops.

From this time the operations of the siege went vigorously forward with very little disturbance from the enemy. A breaching battery for six guns, built on the 28th at night, was opened on the 30th in the morning, and in the course of the day demolished part of the outer wall of the west angle of the Fort, considerably shaking the masonry of the bastion within. On the 1st General Harris reported to the Governor-General that the fire of this battery had continued with increased effect, that an additional battery, constructed the preceding night, was to be opened on the 2nd, and that he anticipated early possession of the fortress. His journal states that the last battery opened with such effect, that Tippoo did every thing in his power to repair the first breach, notwithstanding the fire kept up, and that he succeeded in some measure, because the working of our people in front preparatory to the assault,

prevented the firing of grape shot upon the breach; but on the morning of the 3rd Colonel Wellesley reported the completion of this work in the following letter.

"To Lieutenant-General Harris.

"7 A.M., *3rd May.*

"My dear Sir,

"We did all our work last night, except filling the sand bags, which could not be done for want of tools. I shall have them filled in the course of this morning, and there will be no inconvenience from the delay, as it was not deemed advisable last night to do more than look for the ford; and it is not intended to do any thing to it until the night before it is to be used.

"Lieutenant Lalor, of the 73rd, crossed over to the glacis. On the left of the breach, he found the wall which he believes to be the retaining wall of the glacis, seven feet high, and the water (included in those seven feet) fourteen inches deep. It is in no part more so, and the passage by no means difficult. Several other officers crossed by different routes, but none went so far as Lieutenant Lalor. All agree in the practicability of crossing with troops. The enemy built up the breach in the night with gabions, &c., notwithstanding the fire which was kept upon it. It was impossible to fire grape, as our working party was in front of the six-gun battery,

from which alone we could fire as we repaired the other.

"Lieutenant Lalor is now on duty here with his regiment, but if you wish it, he will remain here to-night, and try the river again.

I am, &c.,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

General Harris, being now satisfied that the breach would be practicable next day, immediately proceeded to settle with General Stuart what portion of the Bombay army should be employed in the storm, and in the course of the day received the following letter from that gallant officer.

"*3rd May, half-past* 10 *o'clock.*

"My dear General,

"Our European flank companies are formed under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, and our Sepoys are likewise formed under Lieutenant-Colonel Mignard, both esteemed good officers. The whole will consist of upwards of 1,200 men, including non-commissioned officers, and are the whole of the flank companies of the Bombay army. It required both the flank companies of our Sepoy corps to make up one of the present establishment. These troops are in camp ready to move when ordered. Our detail at the advanced post is reduced to 300 Europeans and

about 800 Sepoys, for which, with our picquets (which are also reduced to the lowest possible number), we have not quite or about a relief. But this is of little consequence, as it cannot now last long. Should your commissary send any refreshments for your European troops employed in the assault, it would be well he sent for ours also (644 men), in case ours should not arrive in time; besides, it would be well that both armies received it at the same time. I have ordered our troops, besides the twenty-four rounds of ammunition in their pouches, to carry twelve spare rounds in boxes. Surgeons likewise attend them.

I am, my dear General,
Ever and most sincerely yours,
J. STUART."

Major-General Baird having been already informed that the Commander-in-Chief had determined that he should command the troops employed in the assault, was now sent for to receive his instructions. The detail of the forces to be placed under him, and the manner in which the assault was to be made, were fully explained to him.

The Commander-in-Chief instructed Major-General Baird to make the capture of the ramparts his first object; with this view, the force placed under his command would be divided into two columns, one to move along the northern

rampart, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, the other column to be commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, and to proceed along the southern rampart until the two columns joined on the east face, thus making the entire circuit of the rampart before they descended into the town, for the attack of the enemy's troops in the town, if this should be necessary, or of such of the cavaliers as might not be seized at the first onset. To prevent all confusion or delay at the time fixed for the assault, and to conceal the intended attack as much as possible, the different corps were to proceed to the trenches at such hours during the night, and in such succession, as should place them in the trenches agreeably to the order in which they were to march to the assault. Thus every officer and man would previously know his place, and be ready to move out of the trenches when the signal was given. This was the plan formed for the assault by the Commander-in-Chief, and official orders to this effect were delivered to Major-General Baird by Colonel Close, afterwards Sir Barry Close, the distinguished Adjutant-General of the army, as follows:—

"To Major-General Baird.

"Sir,

"You have been informed by the Commander-in-Chief that he proposes placing you in

the command of the troops which are to assault the Fort of Seringapatam.

"A statement of the troops intended for this service is by his desire enclosed*. He wishes the whole to be lodged in the trenches during this night, in the order detailed in the enclosure, from which you will perceive that the European flank companies, from the division under Lieutenant-General Stuart, are to lead the attack. Of the troops destined for the supporting party in the trenches, the 2nd battalion, 5th Regiment, is to be ordered from camp; it will be on the general parade at three o'clock, and there wait to receive your orders. The whole of the troops for the assault will be placed under your orders this evening, and you will be pleased to direct the different corps to proceed to the trenches at such hours during the night, and in such succession, as will place them in the trenches agreeably to the order prescribed, a little before daybreak.

"Colonel Sherbrooke, coming on the duty of a general officer of the trenches, will be directed to obey such instructions as you may have occasion to send him relative to the movement, or disposition, of the troops in the trenches.

* Abstract of the Force.

Europeans	2594
Natives	1882
Total . . .	4476.

See the detail in the Appendix, and also a Return of the killed and wounded in each of the attacking columns.

"When the whole of the troops intended for the assault have left camp, you will report on the subject to the Commander-in-Chief, who will then give you his further instructions.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
BARRY CLOSE,
Adj.-Gen. of the Army."

"*Head Quarters,*
Camp before Seringapatam,
3rd May, 1799."

"ENCLOSURE.

"*Disposition of the Troops ordered for the Assault of the Fort of Seringapatam, on the 4th May*, 1799, *under the command of* MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD.

"Left attack, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, to consist of six companies of European flankers from the Bombay army.

"His Majesty's 12th Regiment.
" 33rd do.

"Ten companies of Bengal Sepoy flankers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardiner.

"Fifty artillerymen, with a proportion of Gun Lascars, under Captain Prescott.

"To move in column, left in front.

"To take possession of the cavalier, close to the breach, and move along the north rampart of the Fort; to proceed till they join the right attack, leaving a battalion company of the 33rd Regiment in charge of the cavalier already mentioned, close to the breach, and occupying such other parts on the ramparts, by detachments from the 12th and 33rd Regiments, as shall be thought necessary by Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop.

"Right attack under Colonel Sherbrooke, to consist of four companies of European flankers, from the Scotch Brigade and Regiment de Meuron.

"His Majesty's 73rd Regiment.

„ 74th do.

"Eight companies of the Coast Sepoy flankers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple.

"Six companies of Bombay Sepoy flankers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mignard.

"Fifty artillerymen, with a proportion of Gun Lascars, under Major Bell.

"To move in column, right in front.

"To move along the south rampart of the Fort, leaving such parties as may be thought necessary by Colonel Sherbrooke, from the 73rd or 74th Regiments in charge of such parts of the ramparts as he may deem it essentially necessary to occupy.

"Half of the European and half of the Native pioneers to accompany each attack with hatchets: the European pioneers to carry the scaling ladders, assisted by forty men from the battalion companies of each of the leading regiments; the Native pioneers to carry a proportion of fascines.

"If the road across the river and the breach shall be deemed sufficiently broad, the two attacks to move out to the assault at the same moment; on coming to the top of the breach, they are to wheel to the right and left, so as to get on the face they are ordered to move on; but if the road and breach are too narrow, the left attack is to move out first. The leading companies of each attack to use the bayonet principally, and not to fire but in cases of absolute necessity.

"Each attack to be preceded by a serjeant and twelve volunteers, supported by a subaltern officer and twenty-five men.

"The leading flank companies of each attack to be provided with hand-hatchets.

BARRY CLOSE, *Adj.-Gen.*"

Major-General Baird engaged with his wonted ardour in a duty so congenial to his gallant nature, and before the morning dawned, all the

troops ordered for the assault were quietly lodged in the trenches.

A heavy fire had been kept up all night from our batteries, which prevented the enemy doing anything at the breach, and at daylight it was reported by the chief engineer to be practicable. Every preparation having been thus made, and no extraordinary movement on the part of the enemy having indicated their expectation of the assault, all were eager for the signal. The hour appointed by the Commander-in-Chief for the storm, one o'clock, had nearly arrived, when, a little before this time, while General Harris was sitting alone in his tent, anxiously reflecting upon the course he had resolved upon, if the Sultaun should succeed in beating off the first assailants, Captain Malcolm (afterwards Sir John Malcolm) came into his tent, and seeing him full of thought, cheerily exclaimed, "Why, my Lord, so thoughtful?" "Malcolm," said the General sternly, "this is no time for compliments: we have serious work on hand; don't you see that the European sentry over my tent is so weak from want of food, and exhaustion, that a Sepoy could push him down—we must take this fort, or perish in the attempt. I have ordered General Baird to persevere in his attack to the last extremity; if he is beat off, Wellesley is to proceed with the troops from the trenches: if he also should not succeed, I shall put myself at the head

of the remainder of the army, for success is necessary to our existence*."

The important moment of the assault had now arrived; at half-past one o'clock General Baird stepped out of the trenches, drew his sword, and gallantly exclaimed, "Now, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers."

The flank companies instantly rushed out of the trenches, followed by the supporting corps, and, under the cover of a heavy fire from our batteries, entered and crossed the river, assailed by rockets and musquetry from the Fort. The forlorn hope of each attack consisted of a serjeant and twelve Europeans, who were followed by two subaltern's parties; that of the right column was commanded by Lieutenant Hill, of the 74th Regiment, that of the left by Lieutenant Lawrence, of the 77th Regiment. The forlorn hope was accompanied also by John Best, (of whom I have before made mention,) who could not be restrained by his former master, the Commander-in-Chief, from joining in this perilous service. He was severely wounded in the bed of the river, but sat on a rock cheering the flank companies of the two attacks as they passed headed by Colonel Sherbrooke and Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop. A

* This anecdote was told to me in 1813 by Sir J. Malcolm, and amongst the late Lord Harris's papers I found a letter of mine reminding him of it.

brigade of engineers, under Captain Caldwell, now Sir James Lillyman Caldwell, an officer of distinguished science and gallantry, accompanied the storming party, but he also was wounded in crossing the river. Both the attacking parties ascended the glacis and the breaches in the faussebraye together. Some opposition was made, but the enemy were soon repulsed or cut down. In six minutes the forlorn hope, closely followed by the front companies of the two divisions, reached the summit of the breach, where the British colours were instantly displayed. This was, indeed, a glorious sight. Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop was here wounded in the hand, and was obliged to remain behind from loss of blood. General Baird having ascended with the flank companies of the right attack was now on the ramparts, when the leading companies of the two divisions took their respective routes along the northern and southern ramparts, succeeded by the other troops who were yet under a heavy fire while crossing the river.

The right attack under Colonel Sherbrooke marched rapidly forward on the southern rampart, according to the order prescribed by the Commander-in-Chief for the asssault, and met with little opposition until they came to the Mysore gateway, when a large body of the enemy endeavoured to oppose their getting within the interior rampart, but they were driven out with great

slaughter. Lieutenant Shawe fell here, and a number of Europeans were killed and wounded. Having forced the gateway, Colonel Sherbrooke continued his march, and gained possession of all the rest of the cavaliers with very inconsiderable loss, hoisting the British colours as he went along as signals of success and victory.

The flank companies of the European corps on the other attack meeting with more resistance, their progress was much slower; some of the traverses were obstinately defended, for Tippoo himself was here present, and led on that fire, by which their front was frequently brought to a stand. But a part of the 12th Regiment having got across the ditch, found its way within the parapet where the enemy were posted, and drove them out; their fire, and that of the companies in front of the left, soon cleared the rampart, and the fugitives who were not shot or drowned in the ditch crowded into a gateway. Before they had time to get off, they were met by part of the 12th Regiment, and between their fire and that of the troops on the main rampart multitudes lost their lives. The two divisions, as they respectively passed along the north and south ramparts, overcame all opposition, destroying those within their reach. Neither officers nor men knew when they could with safety arrest the hand of victory, for both had been taught, by mournful experience, that there was no hope of mercy from

Tippoo, or of peace with him, or those under his command, whilst his power and life remained. The path of the soldiers was therefore destructive and sanguinary. Thousands fell by their hands—indeed, the carnage did not cease, until the two divisions joined on the eastern rampart. All resistance was here at an end, for the whole works of the fortress were now in possession of our troops: nothing remained to be taken but the palace of Tippoo. Here the utmost confusion prevailed; for the family of the Sultaun knew not what had befallen him since he left them in the morning. A report had, indeed been brought to the killedar that he had been shot, and was lying dead under one of the gateways; but whilst uncertain of his destiny, they did not dare to open the gates of the palace without his permission. For themselves, too, they feared a dreadful retaliation from our soldiers, in consequence of the cold-blooded murder, by Tippoo's express orders, a few days before, of twelve of the grenadiers of the 33rd Regiment who had fallen into his hands; much address was therefore required to calm their apprehensions, and induce them to open the gates of the palace to the British troops, who were drawn up on the outside prepared either to storm the walls, or to take peaceful possession.

Happily the person employed by General Baird upon this duty was pre-eminently fitted to perform it with success. Major Allan (afterwards

Sir Alexander Allan,) of whom the Commander-in-Chief speaks, in his account of the battle of Mallavelly, as delighting him by his animation, was deputed on this service. Nature had given to Major Allan a heart, a form, and a countenance admirably fitted for this humane duty. He had, besides, learned and practised his profession under the eyes of Medows and Cornwallis. Medows had taught him that "an enemy conquered is an enemy no more," and the whole career of Lord Cornwallis in India was a beautiful illustration of that divine precept which teaches us

> That earthly power does then shine likest God's,
> When mercy seasons justice.

Major Allan performed this duty in the manner thus simply and modestly described by himself: —"Having fastened a white cloth on a sergeant's pike, I proceeded to the palace, where I found Major Shee and part of the 33rd Regiment drawn up opposite the gate; several of Tippoo's people were in a balcony, apparently in great consternation. I informed them that I was deputed by the General, who commanded the troops in the Fort, to offer them their lives, provided they did not make resistance, of which I desired them to give immediate intimation to their Sultaun. In a short time the killedar, another officer of consequence, and a confidential servant, came over the terrace of the front building, and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They were

greatly embarrassed, and appeared inclined to create delays, probably with a view of effecting their escape as soon as the darkness of the night should afford them an opportunity. I pointed out the danger of their situation, and the necessity of coming to an immediate determination, pledging myself for their protection, and proposing that they should allow me to go into the palace, that I might in person give these assurances to Tippoo. They were very averse to this proposal, but I positively insisted on returning with them. I desired Captain Scohey, who speaks the native languages with great fluency, to accompany me and Captain Hastings Fraser. We ascended by the broken wall, and lowered ourselves down on a terrace, where a large body of armed men were assembled. I explained to them that the flag which I held in my hand was a pledge of security, provided no resistance was made; and the stronger to impress them with this belief, I took off my sword, which I insisted on their receiving. The killedar and many others affirmed that the princes and the family of Tippoo were in the palace, but not the Sultaun. They appeared greatly alarmed, and averse to coming to any decision. I told them that delay might be attended with fatal consequences, and that I could not answer for the conduct of our troops by whom they were surrounded, and whose fury was with difficulty restrained. They then left me, and

shortly after I observed people moving hastily backwards and forwards in the interior of the palace: I began to think our situation rather critical. I was advised to take back my sword, but such an act on my part might, by exciting their distrust, have kindled a flame which, in the present temper of the troops, might have been attended with the most dreadful consequences—probably the massacre of every soul within the palace walls. The people on the terrace begged me to hold the flag in a conspicuous position, in order to give confidence to those in the palace, and prevent our troops from forcing the gates. Growing impatient at these delays, I sent another message to the princes, warning them of their critical situation, and that my time was limited. They answered, they would receive me as soon as a carpet could be spread for the purpose, and soon after the killedar came to conduct me.

"I found two of the princes on the carpet, surrounded by a great many attendants. They desired me to sit down, which I did in front of them. The recollection of Moize U'Deen, who, on a former occasion, I had seen delivered up, with his brother, hostages to Marquis Cornwallis, the sad reverse of their fortunes, their fear, which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal, was but too evident, excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind. I took Moize U'Deen (to whom the killedar, &c., principally directed their

attention) by the hand, and endeavoured, by every mode in my power, to remove his fears, and to persuade him that no violence should be offered to him or his brother, nor to any person in the palace. I then entreated him, as the only means to preserve his father's life, whose escape was impracticable, to inform me of the spot where he was concealed. Moize U'Deen, after some conversation apart with his attendants, assured me that the Pàdshah was not in the palace. I requested him to allow the gates to be opened. All were alarmed at this proposal, and the princes were reluctant to take such a step, but by the authority of their father, to whom they desired to send. At length, however, having promised that I would post a guard of their own Sepoys within, and a party of Europeans on the outside, and having given them the strongest assurances that no person should enter the palace but by my authority, and that I would return and remain with them until General Baird arrived, I convinced them of the necessity of compliance, and I was happy to observe that the princes, as well as their attendants, appeared to rely with confidence on the assurances I had given them.

"On opening the gate, I found General Baird and several officers, with a large body of troops assembled. I returned with Lieutenant-Colonel Close into the palace for the purpose of bringing the princes to the General. We had some diffi-

culty in conquering the alarm and objections which they raised to quitting the palace; but they at length permitted us to conduct them to the gate. The indignation of General Baird was justly excited by a report which had reached him soon after he had sent me to the palace, that Tippoo had inhumanly murdered all the Europeans who had fallen into his hands during the siege; this was heightened, probably, by a momentary recollection of his own sufferings during more than three years' imprisonment in that very place: he was, nevertheless, sensibly affected by the sight of the princes, and his gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous, than the moderation and humanity which he displayed on this occasion. He received the princes with every mark of regard, repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, and he gave them in charge to Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew and Captain Marriott, by whom they were conducted to head-quarters in camp, escorted by the light company of the 33rd Regiment; as they passed, the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms.

"General Baird now determined to search the most retired parts of the palace, in the hope of finding Tippoo. He ordered the light company of the 74th Regiment, followed by others, to enter the palace-yard. Tippoo's troops were immediately disarmed, and we proceeded to make the

search through many of the apartments. Having entreated the killedar, if he had any regard for his own life, or that of his Sultaun, to inform us where he was concealed, he put his hands upon the hilt of my sword, and in the most solemn manner protested that the Sultaun was not in the palace, but that he had been wounded during the storm, and lay in a gateway on the north face of the Fort, whither he offered to conduct us, and if it was found that he had deceived us, said the General might inflict on him what punishment he pleased. General Baird, on hearing the report of the killedar, proceeded to the gateway, which was covered with many hundreds of the slain. The number of the dead and the darkness of the place made it difficult to distinguish one person from another, and the scene was altogether shocking; but aware of the great political importance of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of doubt, the death of Tippoo, the bodies were ordered to be dragged out, and the killedar and the other two persons were desired to examine them one after another. This, however, appeared endless, and as it was now becoming dark, a light was procured, and I accompanied the killedar into the gateway. During the search, we discovered a wounded person lying under the Sultaun's palanquin; this man was afterwards ascertained to be Rajah Cawn, one of Tippoo's confidential servants; he had attended his master during the

whole of the day, and on being made acquainted with the object of our search, he pointed out the spot where the Sultaun had fallen. By a faint glimmering light it was difficult for the killedar to recognise the features, but the body being brought out, and satisfactorily proved to be that of the Sultaun, was conveyed in a palanquin to the palace, where it was again recognised by the eunuchs and other servants of the family.

"When Tippoo was brought from under the gateway, his eyes were open, and the body was so warm, that for a few moments, Colonel Wellesley and myself were doubtful whether he was not alive. On feeling his pulse and heart, that doubt was removed. He had four wounds, three in the body, and one in the temple, the ball having entered a little above the right ear, and lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, with a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist; a handsome pouch, with a red and green silk belt hung across his shoulder, his head was uncovered, his turban being lost in the confusion of his fall; he had an amulet on his arm, but no ornament whatever.

"Tippoo was of low stature, corpulent, with high shoulders, and a short thick neck, but his feet and hands were remarkably small, his complexion was rather dark, his eyes large and prominent, with small arched eye-brows, and his

nose aquiline: he had an appearance of dignity, or perhaps of sternness, in his countenance, which distinguished him above the common order of people."

The fact of the Sultan's death having been thus established beyond all doubt, Major-General Baird immediately directed Major Beatson to communicate to the Commander-in-Chief his request, that himself and the storming party might be relieved that night, as they were much fatigued with the labours of that important day. Major Beatson, accordingly, hastened to convey the Major-General's request to head-quarters, and General Harris at once directed the Deputy Adjutant-General, Major Turing, who was sitting in his tent, to put the officer next for duty in orders, to relieve Major-General Baird, and Colonel Wellesley being that officer, proceeded into the Fort for this purpose early the next morning.

General Harris wrote to the Governor-General that night the following laconic letter.

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"*Camp, Seringapatam, 4th May*, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the pleasure to announce to you, that this day at one o'clock, a division of the army under my command assaulted Seringapatam, and that at half-past two, the place was

entirely in our possession. Tippoo Sultaun fell in the assault. Two of his sons, the Sultaun Pàdshah and Moize U' Deen, are prisoners, with many of the principal sirdars. Our loss is trifling, and our success has been complete. I will forward to your Lordship details hereafter.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
Yours, &c.
GEORGE HARRIS."

The body of the Sultaun was buried the next day, with military honours, in the mausoleum of his father, and a violent storm of thunder and lightning, which destroyed several Europeans and natives, gave an awful interest to the last solemn rites paid to a tyrant, whose life had been a continued career of ambition and cruelty. His treaties with the French Directory, his intended plan of co-operation with Buonaparte, then in Egypt, with Zemaun Shah, the King of Cabul, the Mahrattahs, and other Indian powers, for the avowed purpose of driving the English from the land, all came to light, and confirmed the impressions which had been so long entertained of him. They all proved that his enmity to us was like that which the son of Hamilcar had sworn against the Romans, and ceased only with his life.

On the 7th, General Harris dispatched the following letter.

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"My Lord,

"On the 4th instant, I had the honour to address to your Lordship a hasty note, containing in a few words the sum of our success, which I have now to report more in detail.

"The fire of our batteries, which had begun to batter in breach on the 30th of April, had on the 3rd instant so much destroyed the walls against which it was directed, that the arrangement was then made for assaulting the place on the following day, when the breach was reported practicable.

"The troops intended to be employed, were stationed in the trenches early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault; which I had determined to make in the heat of the day, the time best calculated to ensure success, as their troops would then be least prepared to oppose us.

"The flank companies of Europeans taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camps and out-posts, followed by the 12th, 33rd, 73rd, and 74th Regiments, and three corps of Sepoy grenadiers, taken from the troops of the three Presidencies, with 200 of his Highness the Nizam's infantry, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 artillery* and the

corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment De Meuron, and four battalions of Madras Sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-Colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardner, and Mignard, commanded the several flank corps; and Major-General Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service.

"At one o'clock the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the faussebraye and rampart of the Fort; surmounting in the most gallant manner every obstacle which the difficulty of the passage and resistance of the enemy presented to oppose their progress. Major-General Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left*. One division was commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, the other by Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop: the latter was disabled in the breach, but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful. Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works. Two of his sons were there, who, on

* According to the Commander-in-Chief's instructions, as detailed in the Adjutant-General's letter to General Baird, of the preceding day.

assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them, and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace. It was soon after reported that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen. Syed Saheb, Meer Sadeck, Syed Goffar, and many others of his chiefs, were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted to stop the confusion, at first unavoidable, in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants, and their property in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault. The princes were removed to camp.

"It appeared to Major-General Baird so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultaun, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found late in the evening in one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and placed in the palace; the corpse was, the next day, recognised by many of his family, and interred with the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

"The strength of the Fort is such, both from its natural position and the stupendous works by which it was surrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked it, in whose praise it is impossible to say too much, were required to place it in our hands. Of the merits of the army I have expressed my opinion in orders, a copy of which I shall forward to-morrow,—

and I trust your Lordship will point out their services to the favourable notice of their King and country.

"I am sorry to add, that on collecting the returns of our loss, it is found to be much heavier than I had at first imagined. An accurate statement shall be sent to-morrow.

"On the 5th instant, Abdul Khallik, the elder of the princes, formerly hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our outposts, demanding protection; Kereem Saheb, the brother of Tippoo Sultaun, had before sought refuge with Meer Allum Bahadur. A cowl-nameh * was yesterday dispatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers. Poorniah and Meer Cummur-ud-Deen Khan have also been summoned to Seringapatam. No answers have yet been received, but I expect them shortly, as their families are in the Fort.

"This moment Ali Reza, formerly one of the vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Cummur-ud-Deen Khan, to ask my orders for 4,000 horse now under his command. Ali Reza was commissioned to declare that Meer Cummur-ud-Deen Khan would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of the English entirely. He desired merely to state

* A passport.

that his title to the jaghire of Gurrumcondah was well known, as was his family and character. If these, and his connexion with the unfortunate family of the late Tippoo Sultaun, should give him a claim to this ancient possession of his house, his obligation would bind him ever to the British interests. If this could not be granted to him, he hoped he might obtain permission to retire with his family to Hyderabad. On this subject I have promised to ask your Lordship's pleasure;—he will shortly arrive, and as the army of the late Sultaun look up chiefly to him, I hope, through his means, to be enabled at once to restore tranquility.

"Monsieur Chapuy, and most of the French, are prisoners. They have commissions from the French Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. HARRIS."

"*Seringapatam, 7th May*, 1799."

"GENERAL ORDER.

"*Camp at Seringapatam, 5th May*, 1799.

"The Commander-in-Chief congratulates the gallant army which he has the honour to command, on the conquest of yesterday. The effects arising from the attainment of such an acquisition, as far exceed the present limits of detail, as the unremitting zeal, labour, and unpa-

ralleled valour of the troops surpass his powers of praise. For services so incalculable in their consequences, he must consider the army as well entitled to the applause and gratitude of their country at large.

"While Lieutenant-General Harris sincerely laments the loss sustained in the valuable officers and men who fell in the attack, he cannot omit to return his thanks in the warmest terms to Major-General Baird, for the decided and able manner in which he conducted the assault, and the humane measures which he subsequently adopted for preserving order and regularity in the place. He requests that Major-General Baird will communicate to the officers and men, who on that great occasion acted under his command, the high sense which he must ever entertain of their achievements and merits.

"The Commander-in-Chief requests that Col. Gent, and the corps of Engineers under his command, will accept his thanks for their unremitting exertions in conducting the duties of that very important department; and his best acknowledgments are due to Major Beatson for the essential assistance given to this branch of the service by the constant exertions of his ability and zeal.

"The merit of the Artillery corps is so strongly expressed by the effects of their fire, that the Commander-in-Chief can only desire Colonel

Smith to assure the officers and men of the excellent corps under his command that he feels most fully their claim to approbation. In thus publicly expressing his sense of the good conduct of the army, the Commander-in-Chief finds himself called upon to notice in the most particular manner the exertions of Captain Dowse and his corps of pioneers, which during the present service have been equally marked by unremitting labour, and the ability with which that labour was applied.

"On referring to the progress of the siege, so many occasions have occurred for applause to the troops, that it is difficult to particularise individual merit; but the gallant manner in which Lieut.-Colonel Shawe, the Hon. Colonel Wellesley, Lieut.-Colonel Moneypenny, the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel St. John, Major M'Donald, Major Skelly, and Lieut.-Colonel Wallace, conducted the attacks entrusted to their guidance on the several outworks and posts of the enemy, demand to be recorded, and the very spirited attack led by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of His Majesty's 74th Regiment, which tended so greatly to secure the position our troops had attained in the enemy's works on the 26th ultimo, claim the strongest approbation of the Commander-in-Chief.

"The important part taken by the Bombay army from the commencement of the siege in all the operations which have led to its honourable

conclusion, has been such as well sustains its long-established reputation; the gallant manner in which the post at the village of Agrar was seized by the force under Colonel Hart, the ability displayed in directing the fire of the batteries established there, the vigour with which every attack of the enemy on the outposts of that army was repulsed, and the spirit shown in the assault of the breach by the corps led by Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, are points of particular notice, for which the Commander-in-Chief requests Lieutenant-General Stuart will offer his best thanks to the officers and troops employed.

"Lieutenant-General Harris trusts that Lieutenant-General Stuart will excuse his thus publicly expressing his sense of the cordial co-operation and assistance received from him during the present service, in the course of which he has ever found it difficult to separate the sentiments of his public duty from the warmest feelings of his private friendship.

"Prize rolls of corps to be made out as soon as possible. All corps and detachments above the Ghauts on the 5th May, 1799, or occupying garrisons or posts captured from Tippoo Sultaun during the present war, to be considered as entitled to share in the general distribution which may take place, in the same manner as if they had been present at the assault of Seringapatam."

EXTRACT from GENERAL ORDER, 8th May, 1799.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS feels particular pleasure in publishing to the army the following extract of a report transmitted to him yesterday by Major-General Baird, as it places in a distinguished point of view the merit of an officer on the very important occasion referred to, whose general gallantry and good conduct since he has served with this army have not failed to recommend him strongly to the Commander-in-Chief.

"'If, where all behaved nobly, it is proper to mention individual merit, I know no man so justly entitled to praise as Colonel Sherbrooke, to whose exertions I feel myself much indebted for the success of the attack.'"

"To the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Camp, 8th May*, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship an official return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the army, from the commencement of the siege of Seringapatam to its close. The difficulty of communication prevented the regular returns of casualties being transmitted as they occurred during the continuance of our operations before the place.

"The importance of an early communication

to Europe of the success of this army has induced me to address letters to Mr. Dundas and the Chairman of the Court of Directors; copies of which, and of those I have written to the Admiral, the Governor of Bombay, and the public officers of Government on the Malabar coast, I have the honour to enclose.

"A temporary garrison for Seringapatam has been arranged. The Hon. Colonel Wellesley commands in the place; and I have made some appointments of staff, subject to the approbation of Government, which I shall soon report in detail, in the hope that your Lordship will approve and confirm them.

I have the honour to be,
&c., &c., &c.,
GEO. HARRIS."

CHAPTER XXI.

Lord Mornington receives the intelligence of the fall of Seringapatam—His letters and orders thereupon—Expresses to the Authorities at Home his warmest admiration of the conduct of General Harris, and of the officers and men who had achieved the conquest of Mysore—General Harris highly commends the conduct of the staff officers—The Governor-General's orders in consequence—His Lordship directs the immediate distribution of the booty taken by the troops.

"The Earl of Mornington to Lieutenant-General Harris.

"*Fort St. George, May* 12, 1799.

"I had yesterday the satisfaction to receive your letter of the 4th instant, advising me of the capture of Seringapatam, and of the death of Tippoo Sultaun.

"With the warmest sensations of admiration, affection, and attachment, I offer my cordial thanks and zealous congratulations to you, and to all the officers and privates composing the gallant army which has achieved this glorious and decisive victory, with a degree of energy, rapidity, and skill, unparalleled in this quarter of the globe, and seldom equalled in any part of the world.

"It has afforded me peculiar satisfaction on this important occasion to learn, that every pos-

sible attention has been paid to the family of Tippoo Sultaun, and to those of his chieftains.

"Although I have not yet received directly from you any official details of the circumstances attending the assault and capture of Seringapatam, it is evident that the acquisition has been attended with circumstances of a nature to facilitate a final and satisfactory arrangement of the country.

"I entirely approve all your proceedings of a political nature (as far as you have reported them to me) relative to the negotiations with the Sultaun previously to the assault of the city. You have faithfully pursued the spirit of my instructions, and departed from the letter only in such cases as would have compelled me to adopt similar alterations of principles and measures if I had been on the spot.

"The subject of a final adjustment of Mysore is, however, so complicated and delicate, as to appear to require my presence at Seringapatam. For this reason, I intend forthwith to proceed to Ryakottah; from which fortress I can advance to Seringapatam, if such a measure should appear to be necessary. In the meanwhile, I have determined to dispatch my brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick, to Ryakottah, with orders to proceed to the army, whenever the communication shall be sufficiently open, for the purpose of acting with the commis-

sioners appointed under my instructions of the 22nd February, and of ascertaining a variety of points of detail on which it is necessary that I should be fully and accurately informed previously to the formation of any definitive adjustment of the affairs of the kingdom of Mysore.

"But it is requisite immediately that the Company should obtain full possession of all Canara (including Bilghuy, and the heads of all the Ghauts communicating between Canara and the upper country), as well as of the Coimbatoor country; you will, therefore, without delay, require from the proper persons the most peremptory and unequivocal orders for the immediate delivery to the Company's officers of all the forts, and of all other public property comprehended in these countries.

"For the purpose of taking possession of Canara, you will (unless you should deem it imprudent), as soon as possible, detach the army of Bombay, or such part of it as may be necessary. It appears probable that you may safely detach the army of Bombay on this service; on the other hand, the possibility of a French invasion in India from the Red Sea makes it desirable that the army of Bombay should return to the coast of Malabar, and that we should obtain possession of Canara as soon as possible.

"For the purpose of securing the Coimbatoor country, it will perhaps be sufficient if you send

thither the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Brown as soon as may be practicable.

"The Barrahmahal at present containing an inconsiderable force, you will return Lieutenant-Colonel Read's detachment as soon as you may judge expedient.

"At the same time that you demand from the proper authorities the necessary orders for the surrender to the Company of the specified countries and forts, you are to require similar orders for the prompt and unconditional delivery to the officers of His Highness the Nizam of the forts and districts of Gooty, Bellary, Gurrumconda, and Colar, with the exception only of any forts in the two latter, which may be situated at the head of passes leading from the table-land of Mysore into any of the districts of the Company, or of the Nabob of the Carnatic, it being my intention that all such forts shall be occupied by the Company's troops.

"For the purpose of occupying and securing these countries, it will be necessary that the contingent of His Highness the Nizam, and the subsidiary detachment, should move towards the north-east as soon as possible.

"The country and principal forts situated between the north bank of the Cavery and Colar, may be occupied for the present either by the necessary detachments from your army, or by

Colonel Read. The ultimate allotment of this tract is a point for future consideration.

"The Sirdars, on whose ready acquiescence and submission the Company and the Nizam most depend for an early and easy possession of the forts and countries which have been mentioned, must be plainly informed that the measure of favour and protection to be extended to them will be regulated by the alacrity and sincerity with which they shall exert themselves to satisfy the allies on this occasion.

"With regard to Bednore, and other parts of the late Tippoo Sultaun's possessions bordering on the Mahrattah frontier, I wish those countries to remain unoccupied for the present, until I shall have determined what portion of territory shall be assigned to the Peishwah. Accordingly, no orders for the delivery of any forts, or the cession of any districts to the Mahrattahs, must be issued by the Sirdars in authority without my specific requisition; and they must be apprized that I shall hold them responsible for the conduct of their respective managers and subordinate officers in the countries in question. All the French you may be able to secure (and you will make the most diligent inquiry after persons of that nation,) must be sent to the Presidency by the most favourable opportunity.

"I wish you to send a detachment of your army to meet me at Ryakottah, whenever you deem it

prudent to spare such a force. By the first opportunity you will inform me how far the state of Mysore may either require or admit of my proceeding to Seringapatam.

I am, &c.,

MORNINGTON."

"The EARL of MORNINGTON to LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS.

"*Fort St. George, 15th May*, 1799.

"Sir,

"I have already expressed to you, in my answer to your note of the 4th instant, my distinguished sense of the invaluable services of the admirable army under your command, and having now received the details of the assault of the 4th, I shall immediately issue a General Order in Council respecting the conduct of the rapid and brilliant campaign which terminated with such lustre on that memorable day.

"My private and military secretaries will set out for Seringapatam by Ryakottah this evening, charged with instructions for your guidance until my arrival can take place. In the meanwhile, I authorize you to assure Meer Cummur-ud-Deen Khan that I receive with great satisfaction his unconditional submission to the generosity of the British power; and that he may rely with confidence on my countenance and protection: you will add

that, in concert with His Highness the Nizam, I will readily take into consideration Meer Cummur-ud-Deen's claim to the Jaghire of Gurrumconda, but it would be premature at present to enter into any specific engagement on that head. However, I empower you to declare to Meer Cummur-ud-Deen immediately, in my name, that if I shall be satisfied with his services in the restoration of tranquillity, I will make an ample and liberal provision for him, fully equal to whatever may appear to be his just claims. As it may tend to inspire Meer Cummur-ud-Deen with additional confidence, I enclose a letter for him under my own hand and seal.

"You will inform all the Sirdars, and persons lately in high office in the government of Mysore, that the degree of favour and protection to be extended to them by the Company and the allies will be regulated according to the fidelity with which they shall respectively render an account of all the property of the Sircar under their charge, referring in particular to the stable horse, to the draught and carriage cattle, and to all arms, ordnance, and ordnance stores, belonging to the Sircar.

"I desire that you will issue such orders as you may judge necessary to the different asophs and officers of Tippoo Sultaun's government, requiring them to hold the public property of every description at present in their charge, as

well as the revenue which may hereafter be collected, at the disposal of the allies, and apprising them that a regular account of all such property and revenue will be taken with the greatest accuracy as soon as circumstances will permit. I think it expedient that all their orders should be issued in your own name, until my arrival at Seringapatam, as well for the purpose of giving the greater degree of force to them, as of obviating any jealousies which might arise from the immediate appointment of officers on the part of the Company for the collection of the revenues.

"I have no doubt you have adopted every necessary measure for securing to persons of every description the safe and undisturbed possession of their private properties.

I am, &c., &c.,

MORNINGTON."

"GENERAL ORDERS of the GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

"*Fort St. George*, 15*th May*, 1799.

"The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, having this day received from the Commander-in-Chief of the allied army in the field, the official details of the glorious and decisive victory obtained at Seringapatam on the 4th of May, offers his cordial thanks and sincere congratulations to the Commander-in-Chief, and to

all the officers and men composing the gallant army which achieved the capture of the capital of Mysore on that memorable day. His Lordship views with admiration the consummate judgment with which the assault was planned, the unequalled rapidity, animation, and skill with which it was executed, and the humanity which distinguished its final success. Under the favour of Providence, and the justice of our cause, the established character of the army had inspired an early confidence, that the war in which we were engaged would be brought to a speedy, prosperous, and honourable issue. But the events of the 4th of May, while they have surpassed even the sanguine expectations of the Governor-General in Council, have raised the reputation of the British arms in India to a degree of splendour and glory unrivalled in the military history of this quarter of the globe, and seldom approached in any part of the world. The lustre of this victory can be equalled only by the substantial advantages which it promises to establish, by restoring the peace and safety of the British possessions in India on a durable foundation of genuine security. The Governor-General in Council reflects with pride, satisfaction, and gratitude, that in this arduous crisis the spirit and exertion of our Indian army have kept pace with those of our countrymen at home; and that in India, as in Europe, Great Britain has found, in the malevolent designs

of her enemies, an increasing source of her own prosperity, fame, and power.

"By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

J. WEBBE,
Secretary to Government."

"The EARL of MORNINGTON to the RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY DUNDAS.

"*Fort St. George, 16th May,* 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"Yesterday, I received the enclosed despatch from Lieutenant-General Harris, containing the details of the capture of Seringapatam; they require no comment; and I am persuaded that no solicitation is necessary on my part to induce you to recommend the incomparable army, which has gained this glorious triumph to the particular notice of his Majesty, and to the applause and gratitude of their country. The unconditional submission of Cummur-ud-Deen, accompanied by that of Futteh Hyder, will, I trust, much facilitate the means of making a new settlement. I am on the point of setting out for Seringapatam, and I have no doubt that, in any possible case, I shall be able to add to the annual revenues of the Company, in the Peninsula of India, a sum not less than twelve lacs of pagodas, with the additional advantage of contracting and strengthen-

ing our frontier, and of establishing a continuity of our territory from the coast of Coromandel to that of Malabar.

"In our present situation, the arrival of a French force in India would be rather a desirable event than otherwise, as I am confident that the result must be an accession of reputation and honour to our troops, and the disappointment and ruin of the enemy. If the French should be established in Egypt, it might be advisable to consider whether an expedition might not be fitted out from India, to co-operate, by way of the Red Sea, with any attempt which might be undertaken from the Mediterranean. I cannot venture to prepare any such expedition without orders from England; but if I should receive them, you may be assured that they will be executed with alacrity and diligence, not only by me, but by the whole army in India.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Yours, most faithfully and affectionately,
MORNINGTON."

"To the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Seringapatam, May* 13, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have forwarded to your Lordship, by various hircarrahs, an account of the success of the army in the assault of Seringapatam, with

copies of the orders issued on that occasion. In those orders I expressed my approbation of the conduct of the troops in general, and my sense of the merits of those officers, whose behaviour had attracted particular notice.

"It remains for me to state what is in justice due to others, whom, for obvious reasons, I could not present in the same manner to your Lordship's notice. These are, officers on the general staff, in my family, and others whose zeal induced them to forward the public service, by the exertion of their abilities, in aid of departments to which they were not officially attached.

"In every point of view, I must call your Lordship's attention to the Adjutant-General of the army. His general character, as an officer, is too well established by a long and distinguished course of the most meritorious service to require my testimony, but the particular exertion of his talents on the present service, in directing, regulating, and assisting the progress of our Departments, when embarrassed by all the difficulties attending a deficiency of conveyance for an uncommonly extensive equipment, during the advance of the army, and the ability, zeal, and energy displayed by him in superintending the various operations of an arduous siege, where he was ever present stimulating the exertions of others, or assisting their judgment and labours with his own, claim from me to be stated to your

Lordship in the most forcible terms. It is my earnest wish that my sentiments on this subject may be publicly recorded; and it is my firm opinion, that if the success of this army has been of importance to the British interests, that success is to be attributed in a very considerable degree to Lieutenant-Colonel Close.

"From the officers more immediately in my family, I have derived all the assistance in the conduct of the public service which I had reason to expect from their experience; and I am highly indebted to your Lordship for the indulgence with which you attended to my wishes in the selection of Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew and Captain Macauley, as my confidential staff.

"The gentlemen of the commission named by your Lordship to assist me with their advice on subjects of a political nature, have in every instance, when I have found it expedient to refer to their judgment, acted in a manner with which I am particularly satisfied. Your Lordship is in possession of their proceedings on the subject of the various overtures for negotiation made by Tippoo Sultaun; and the orders I have since received on this head, leave me no ground to doubt your Lordship's approbation of the line of conduct which they have uniformly pursued.

"Major Dallas has strong claims to be particularly recommended to your Lordship's notice: the readiness with which he came forward to

exert his personal influence with the principal natives in the bullock department, at a period when it seemed scarcely possible to move forward the public stores; the effectual aid which he gave to the store department, by his personal assistance in its arrangements, and the duty, equally important and laborious, which he voluntarily took upon himself, of seeking and securing forage for the public cattle during the marches of the army, are amongst the many instances in which his zeal has been distinguished, and which entitle him to the attention of Government. In the department of the Quarter-Master General, the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson and Major Allan has been very satisfactory to me. Captain Turing has ably assisted Lieutenant-Colonel Close in the Adjutant-General's office; and Captain Orr, of the Guides, has merited great praise by his judgment, diligence and activity, in conducting the marches of the army, and of all detachments of importance, which, since our encampment here, it has been necessary to make under Major-General Floyd.

"Captain Macleod, of the Intelligence department, has been employed in the management of the bazaars of the army, and on a variety of services not specially the duty of any regularly established officer, but which required a perfect knowledge of the customs of India, and the strictest integrity in the person charged with this

avocation. I have, on all such occasions, given my full confidence to Captain Macleod, and his conduct has shown him deserving of the trust.

"I have thought it a necessary part of my public duty to make this report to your Lordship for the information of Government; and have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
and faithful servant,
GEO. HARRIS."

"GENERAL ORDERS of the GOVERNOR-GENERAL in COUNCIL.

"*Madras, May* 24, 1799.

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, directs the Commander-in-Chief of the allied army in the field, to assure the officers in the general staff of the army, those composing the confidential staff of the Commander-in-Chief, and those whose zeal, ability, and exertion, have been distinguished in aid of the departments to which they were not officially attached, that his Lordship entertains the highest sense of their several eminent services during the late glorious campaign in Mysore.

"The conduct of the Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Close, has amply justified the implicit confidence reposed by the Governor-General in Council in his extensive knowledge,

approved experience, superior talents, ardent valour, and indefatigable activity.

"The uniform zeal, perseverance and fortitude, with which Lieutenant-Colonel Close has exerted all these great qualities, in every trial of difficulty and danger, entitle him to the praise, respect, and esteem of the Governor-General in Council. His Lordship feels himself bound, by every obligation of justice and public duty, to recommend the extraordinary merits of Lieutenant-Colonel Close to the particular approbation of the Honourable the Court of Directors, and to the applause and gratitude of his country. The selection which the Commander-in-Chief had so judiciously made of Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew and Captain Macauley, for his confidential staff, was confirmed by the Governor-General in Council, with a just expectation that his Excellency would derive considerable advantage to the public service from their able assistance.

"The Governor-General in Council is happy to record a public acknowledgement of the distinguished conduct of Major Dallas, and to assure that officer that his Lordship has a just sense of the important services which he has rendered in his successful superintendence of the laborious departments under his charge.

"It is very satisfactory to his Lordship to remark, that the conduct of the Quarter-Master General's department under Lieutenant-Colonel

Richardson and Major Allan, and that of the department of the Guides under Captain Orr, has met with the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief; his Lordship desires that his public thanks may be conveyed to those officers, and on this occasion, his Lordship thinks it proper to publish to the army the particular thanks which he had already directed the Commander-in-Chief to convey to Major Allan and Captain Macauley, for the essential services rendered by them on the 28th of March last, after the battle of Mallavelly.

"His Lordship is also happy to concur in the honourable testimony borne by the Commander-in-Chief, to the merits of Captain Turing and of Captain Macleod, and directs that his thanks may be conveyed to those meritorious officers.

"In all ranks and departments of the allied army, his Lordship has observed, with sincere pleasure, a general spirit of harmony and concord which (under the happy auspices of the Commander-in-Chief) has united every heart, head, and hand, in the common cause, signalized each progressive operation of the campaign with a peculiar character of alacrity and ardour, and crowned its early conclusion with victory, triumph and renown.

"By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

J. WEBBE,

"*Secretary to Government.*"

"To the Earl of Mornington.

"*Seringapatam, May* 17, 1799.

"My Lord,

"Two letters from your Lordship of the 12th instant were received last night. I have communicated to the army the very flattering terms in which you have been pleased to mark your approbation of their gallant conduct, and I am extremely happy that, in the negotiations with the Sultaun prior to the capture of the place, the measures I adopted have been such as your Lordship thought expedient.

"Your Lordship's presence at Seringapatam will, I have no doubt, greatly facilitate the adjustment of the affairs of Mysore; and some points in your Lordship's letter of the 10th instant render me extremely desirous that you should adopt the resolution of making your arrangements on the spot.

"A regiment of cavalry accompanies Colonel Read's detachment, which he will send to attend your Lordship, if required, from Ryakottah. The contingent of his Highness the Nizam moves immediately to Chinapatam, to procure forage for the cavalry and cattle; but this corps cannot for some time proceed further towards the frontier. To the Coimbatoor country I shall order a detachment without delay.

"My former letters would inform your Lord-

ship that I had anticipated your orders to search for treaties and correspondence of the late Sultaun with foreign states and Europeans. I had also taken measures to secure the revenue accounts. Your Lordship's further instructions shall receive from me every possible attention.

"I enclose duplicates of a variety of papers transmitted when the communication was less secure than at present, and have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
faithful servant,
GEO. HARRIS."

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS, Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

"*Fort St. George, June* 2, 1799.

"Sir,

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council having considered your report upon the ordnance, ammunition, military stores, treasure, and jewels, taken in the Fort of Seringapatam, directs me to acquaint you that his Lordship in Council has resolved to order an immediate distribution of the treasure and jewels, which have fallen into your hands. At the same time that the Governor-General in Council communicates this resolution to you, his Lordship thinks it expedient to impress upon your attention the principles of the law of nations, by which all property

conquered from an enemy becomes the property of the State, and by which all idea of positive right in the captors to property in a fort taken by assault is exploded. In conformity to these principles, the King has been pleased to grant to the Company, by letters patent bearing date January 14, 1758, the right of all booty and plunder which shall be taken by their troops alone, reserving in express terms his royal prerogative of distribution in such manner and proportions as he shall think fit, in all cases in which the royal forces may have co-operated with those of the Company.

"Although the orders of the Court of Directors, prescribing the mode of carrying these letters patent into execution, expressly prohibit their governments in India from disposing of the 'whole plunder and booty which shall be taken in wars, hostilities, or expeditions, by the Company's forces;' and although his Majesty, by the letters patent themselves, has reserved to himself in express terms his 'prerogative royal to distribute the said plunder and booty in such manner and proportion as he shall think fit,' in all cases in which his own troops may have been employed; yet, having no doubt that the gracious bounty of his Majesty, and the liberality of the Court of Directors, will be proportioned to the important services of the gallant army under your command, his Lordship has no hesitation in charging himself with the responsibility of anticipating the

royal sanction, and the determination of the Court of Directors. In adopting this decision, his Lordship trusts that he will manifest to the army an unequivocal proof of the gratitude which he feels for the continued exertion of their matchless bravery and discipline, by the prompt distribution of a reward, which their decisive success has enabled him to bestow. In their letter of the 8th March, 1758, the Honourable Court of Directors have ordered that, 'in land operations all cannon, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, are not to come into the division, but are to belong to the Company.' Upon a further consideration, therefore, of this positive injunction, as well as of the principles of the law of nations applied to the right of booty, plunder, and conquest, and to the expenses incurred by the Company for the support of the present war, the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council directs me to inform you of his Lordship's intention to reserve all ordnance, ammunition, and military stores (including grain), for the ultimate decision of his Majesty, on such application as shall be made to him by the Honourable the Court of Directors.

"It will accordingly be necessary that a proper board of officers should be selected and appointed for the purpose of valuing, and of taking an exact inventory of, all that part of the captured property which is included under the denomination of

ordnance, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, for transmission to the Honourable Court of Directors. In ordering the distribution of the treasure and jewels, the Governor-General in Council directs you to be guided by the established usages, which have been observed in the British service in all cases of a similar nature; and to take upon yourself the decision of all points whatever, referable to this distribution, without further communication to his Lordship in Council. The proportion of prize-money, to be allotted to the contingent of his Highness the Nizam, is to be determined by the number of his Highness's troops, actually employed in the field with the army before Seringapatam at the time of taking that place.

"The British subsidiary force, serving with the contingent of his Highness the Nizam, will, of course, be included in the Company's army; and receive its proportion of prize-money according to the distribution made to the rest of the British forces. As it is probable that Meer Allum Bahadur may not be inclined to dispense with the right of his Sovereign over that part of the captured property which may be allotted to his Highness the Nizam, the Governor-General in Council directs you to consult him upon this point; and to give orders for the appropriation of the Nizam's share, in such a manner as shall be most agreeable to Meer Allum.

"I have the honour to inclose a general order by Government, which the Governor-General in Council directs you to publish to the army, in order that the distribution of the prize-money may be immediately announced to them.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. WEBBE,

"*Secretary to Government.*"

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, &c., &c., &c.

"*Fort St. George,* 14*th June,* 1799.

"Sir,

"I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your several letters noted in the margin, with the papers which respectively acompanied them.

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General having, in his Lordship's separate despatches, communicated to you his sentiments upon your several arrangements and dispositions for the march and progress of the army towards the capital of Mysore, it becomes unnecessary to give a detailed answer to those parts of your despatches further than to repeat the expression of his Lordship's entire approbation of the several measures adopted by you, as well as his perfect satisfaction

of the zeal, exertion, and perseverance which enabled the army to surmount those serious difficulties which appeared to oppose its progress towards Seringapatam.

"The Governor-General in Council feels the importance of the masterly movement which you made for crossing the river Cavery at Soosilly after the battle of Mallavelly, as well as the promptitude of your arrangements for detaching Major-General Floyd, after your arrival in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam,—measures no less admirable for the judgment and decision with which they were planned, than important in their consequences to the success of your operations. The period which comprises the operations from the commencement to the close of the siege exhibits a series of animated exertions, indefatigable perseverance, and heroic valour in the several corps of the army who progressively drove the enemy from their works, maintained their own positions, and finally pushed their success to the walls of the place. The animation and example which produced these efforts, and the judgment, skill, and promptitude with which your several advantages were applied to the furtherance of your main object, are clearly distinguishable in the harmony, vigour, and vivacity of the siege.

"Upon the memorable conquest of the capital of Mysore by assault, the Governor-General in Council has already conveyed to you his Lord-

ship's high sense and admiration of the important services rendered to the Company, and to the nation, by the army under your command.

"The Governor-General in Council directs me to express his perfect approbation of the manner in which you conducted the political communications between you and Tippoo Sultaun, under the commission and instructions with which you were furnished by his Lordship for that purpose.

"His Lordship in Council also approves your several communications with the principal Sirdars subsequently to the fall of Seringapatam, and upon the several points which relate to this subject will transmit his Lordship's separate instructions to the Commission appointed for the final arrangement of the affairs of Mysore.

"The Governor-General in Council is entirely satisfied with the promptitude with which the army under the command of Lieutenant-General Stuart returned to the Malabar coast, and trusts that the most vigorous and effectual measures will have been taken, as well for the defence and security of that province against any attempt which may be made by the French to invade it, as for subjecting to the Company's authority with all practicable expedition the several districts and fortresses in the province of Canara.

"His Lordship also commends the alacrity with which the detachment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Read was equipped and

despatched for the purpose of taking possession of the several fortresses situated to the northward of Bangalore.

"The Governor-General in Council is deeply impressed with the importance and necessity of using the utmost degree of vigour and alacrity in the measures to be adopted for the restoration of order and system in the government of Mysore; his Lordship therefore directs me to express his anxiety that the army should be put in a state of equipment with the least possible delay, as well for the purpose of moving in such directions as circumstances may render necessary, as of preserving that continuation of energy and efficiency which have hitherto distinguished your operations, and which are requisite for the permanent establishment of the Company's authority.

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. WEBBE,

Secretary to Government."

"To REAR-ADMIRAL RAINIER, commanding His Majesty's Fleet in India.

"*June 17th*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated off Decala, 20th

May, informing me of your having ordered the *Carysfort* frigate to proceed direct to England with my despatch.

"The readiness with which you were pleased to accede to my wish of an early transmission to England of the important intelligence of the capture of Seringapatam, while it demands my warmest acknowledgements, furnishes an additional instance of the public spirit and disinterested zeal which on all occasions have eminently distinguished your services.

"Your congratulations to me, and to the army under my command, upon our successes, afford me peculiar satisfaction. Never, during the brightest period of her glory and renown, has Great Britain experienced such ardent loyalty and union as now pervades her navies and armies. The cause is obvious. The heroic deeds of the navy in every quarter of the globe have not only called forth from all ranks and descriptions of our countrymen the warmest admiration, but have excited an enthusiastic eagerness of emulation, without a parallel in the history of the world.

"These sentiments, and this happy union, must bear Great Britain towering and triumphant over all difficulties, and secure upon a durable basis the dignity of the Crown, and the happiness and liberties of the people.

"I rejoice to hear you are arrived at Madras,

and in good health, where I hope soon to shake you by the hand, being, with great regard,

My dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

G. HARRIS."

"To the EARL of MORNINGTON.

"*Camp, 21st June*, 1799.

"My Lord,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Mr. Webbe, the Secretary to Government, under date the 14th instant, conveying to me the orders of your Lordship in Council on various points, to which I shall pay implicit obedience.

"In consequence of the intelligence from Chittledroog, announced to your Lordship in my letter of the 16th instant, Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple marched from camp on the 20th instant with two battalions of Native infantry and one regiment of cavalry, carrying with him a supply of money for the immediate wants of that garrison. Orders have been sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, with the Bengal regiment of the Contingent under his orders, to join Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple at Sera, who has instructions to advance from that place to Chittledroog when joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Grant's detachment; or prior to this junction, should his intelligence lead him to think it can be done with

propriety. The instant the army is sufficiently equipped, I shall move with it in the same direction.

"Major-General Hartley informs me, in a letter of the 15th instant, that having received from the killedar of Deria Bahadar Ghur, assurances of his disposition to receive a British garrison and obey the orders of that Circar, he has directed a detachment to march and occupy that fort.

I have the honour, &c.

GEO. HARRIS."

CHAPTER XXII.

General Harris obtains possession of the different forts and countries belonging to Mysore.—Dhoondiah is driven into the Mahratta territories.—Tranquillity being established, General Harris appoints Colonel Wellesley to command in Mysore, and returns to the Presidency.—Sees the Governor-General before his departure for Calcutta.—Lord Mornington's letter to Mr. Dundas.—Thanks of the House of Commons and Court of Directors to General Harris.—Farewell letter from Colonel Wellesley.

The two succeeding months of July and August were occupied by General Harris in obtaining and securing possession of the different forts and countries belonging to Mysore. On the coast of Malabar no difficulty was experienced so soon as the cessation of the Western monsoon enabled our troops to move; and, early in July, the important fortress of Chittledroog was surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, who had been detached by the Commander-in-Chief with a light force of cavalry and infantry in that direction. No obstacle to the general tranquillity now remained, but the disturbances excited in Bednore by Dhoondiah, who had been confined by Tippoo, and was imprudently released by our troops, with other prisoners, on the day of the assault. He immediately returned to his old avocations of plunder and murder, and being joined by some of

the disbanded silladars of Tippoo's cavalry, proceeded into the rich country of Bednore. Here the disaffected civil and military servants of Tippoo's government combined in putting some of the principal places into his possession, before it was in the power of General Harris to send a sufficient force against him.

So soon as the Commander-in-Chief could leave Seringapatam, he marched towards Chittledroog; and having detached Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple against Dhoondiah, no time was lost in making an example of the banditti under him, whose shocking cruelties had spread great consternation in the districts which were the scenes of their enormities. Colonel Stevenson, with another light corps, was also detached into Bednore, and, by their united vigour and talents, Dhoondiah and his marauders were driven, before the middle of August, completely out of the country, himself escaping by a boat into the Mahratta territory. Here the pursuit ceased, as the Governor-General had strictly prohibited any violation of the Mahratta frontier.

All the objects of the campaign having been now satisfactorily completed, and General Harris having received from the Governor-General in Council the following letter, immediately prepared to return to the Presidency, leaving the Honourable Colonel Wellesley in command of the troops in Mysore.

"To His Excellency Lieutenant-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief.

"*Fort St. George, 7th August*, 1799.

"Sir,

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, trusting that the arrangements made by the treaties of Mysore and Seringapatam for effecting a settlement of the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, with the late rapid success of the detachment against the banditti attached to the rebel Dhoondiah, will now admit of measures being taken for a permanent distribution of the subsidiary forces in Mysore, directs me to desire that you will accordingly take the subject into your serious consideration. His Lordship is anxious to consult your opinion, previous to his departure for Bengal, with respect to the appointment and distribution of the subsidiary force, as well as with regard to the general military arrangements which will be rendered necessary by the late change in the political state of India; he therefore directs you to proceed to the Presidency as soon as you shall judge your presence no longer necessary for conducting the public service in Mysore.

"The Governor-General in Council further directs you to leave such a force above the Ghauts as you may think necessary for completely suppressing the commotions prevailing in Bednore,

and for garrisoning the principal fortresses in the northern and north-western frontiers of the Rajah of Mysore, and to order the remainder of the army to the Carnatic.

"In communicating to you his Lordship's orders for quitting the army, the Governor-General has great satisfaction in availing himself of the opportunity to express, in terms of the warmest gratitude, his entire approbation of your distinguished conduct in executing the important trust committed to your charge at the commencement of the late rapid and brilliant campaign. His Lordship has already conveyed to you, and to the gallant army under your command, his cordial thanks and sincere congratulations on the conquest of the capital of Mysore; and the Governor-General in Council now directs me to signify his particular sense of the firmness, constancy, and perseverance with which you subdued the difficulties opposed to the progress of your army through the enemy's country, of the zeal and unanimity with which you inspired all the great departments of your army, and the judgment displayed in the whole conduct of the campaign, especially in the passage of the Cavery, and in the position taken before Seringapatam, and the vigour and skill with which the siege was conducted. This great achievement entitled you to the gratitude and respect of the Company and your King and country; and the Governor-

General has already discharged, with particular satisfaction, the grateful duty of stating to the Honourable Court of Directors, and to his Majesty's Ministers, your eminent services in a manner adequate to the honour and advantage which the British empire is likely to derive from the splendid victories obtained by the army under your command.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J. WEBBE,
Secretary to the Government."

To this letter General Harris returned the following answer:—

"To the RIGHT HON. the EARL of MORNINGTON, K. P., Governor-General in Council, &c.

"*Camp opposite Hoonelly,*
24th August, 1799.

"My Lord,

"The dispersion of the followers of Dhoondiah, and the flight of that rebel to the Mahratta territory, leaving me little doubt of the immediate settlement of affairs in the Bednore province, I have issued orders to Colonel Stevenson, commanding the troops employed in that service, to detach two Native battalions to occupy Bednore, Cowley Droog, and other principal stations, and to hold Lieutenant-Colonel Dal-

rymple's detachment in readiness to return in a short time to the Nizam's dominions.

"Under this view of affairs, it is my intention to quit the army to-morrow, and to proceed towards the Presidency to pay my respects to the Right Honourable the Governor-General before his departure for Bengal.

"I have directed the Honourable Colonel Wellesley to command the troops serving in Mysore, and have, conformably to the orders of your Lordship in Council, arranged a temporary establishment of staff, nearly similar to that allowed to the subsidiary force serving with His Highness the Nizam, to assist him in conducting the details of the troops under his command.

"In the event of an additional force being required in the Bednore district, after Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple's detachment shall have been withdrawn, I have authorized Colonel Wellesley to request a reinforcement of two Native battalions from Major-General Hartley, and directed that officer to comply with such request, if made to him.

"His Majesty's 12th Regiment, now at Sera, is ordered to march to the Presidency in obedience to your Lordship's order of the 17th instant. The 25th Regiment of Light Dragoons, which has been extremely sickly, and a battalion of Artillery, has also been ordered to the Carnatic.

"A return of the state and distribution of the

army remaining above the Ghauts, and a proposed distribution for the army of the Madras Establishment, shall be submitted to your Lordship in Council soon after my arrival at the Presidency.

"The very flattering manner in which your Lordship in Council has been pleased to mention my services, in the late campaign, has been highly gratifying to my feelings, by the conviction it has afforded, that my earnest endeavours to conduct the important service entrusted to me, agreeably to the wishes of Government, have been attended with success.

I have the honour, &c.,

GEO. HARRIS."

In his journey to the Presidency, General Harris received the following letter from Colonel Wellesley:—

"To LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS, Commander-in-Chief.

"*August* 26, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"I have received Colonel Agnew's private and public letters, and I am much obliged to you for the additional mark of your favour and confidence in allowing me to appoint my own staff. Colonel Agnew will communicate to you what I have written to him upon this subject.

"Before I left Seringapatam, Colonel Scott desired me to request your permission for him to go to England in a letter which I wrote to you. I have this day informed him that you have left the army, and have given him leave to go to Madras. I have also desired him to make his application to you in the regular form through Captain Young.

"I wish you joy of the successful termination of every thing here, and I am, my dear Sir,

Ever your faithful and obliged servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

The troops serving in Mysore having been thus delivered over to the command of Colonel Wellesley, the Commander-in-Chief, made all the haste in his power to reach Madras before the departure of the Governor-General for Calcutta. The manner in which this journey was accomplished is thus described, by himself, in a letter to Sir W. Medows.

"In seven months' absence from Madras, we not only took the capital of that enemy, who, you observe, should never have been left the power of being troublesome, but marched to the northern extent of his empire, and left it in so settled a state that I journeyed from the banks of the Toombudra, three hundred miles across, in my palankeen, without a single soldier as escort,

except, indeed, at many places, the polygars and peons of the country, who insisted on being my guard through their respective districts. This was a kind of triumphal journey I did not dream of when setting off. The Almighty has been wonderfully bountiful to us. A conquest so complete in all its effects has seldom been known, and certainly in my respect left me nothing to ask."

General Harris had the gratification of arriving at Madras before the departure of the Governor-General for Calcutta, and of assisting in the military arrangements which the late change in the political state of India rendered necessary.

Early in September, the Earl of Mornington sailed from Madras for Calcutta, leaving on the minds of the people of that Presidency the deepest feelings of admiration and gratitude. They were the first to feel the consequences of the wisdom, vigour, and justice of his measures, in their deliverance from the perpetual alarm of a cruel invasion by the most implacable and powerful enemy of the British name in India. The glorious success of a just and necessary war, and the prospect of future peace in the Carnatic (which has never since been disturbed by any hostile aggression), gladdened all hearts, and inspired one universal feeling of reverence towards the immediate author of these blessings.

How deeply the noble Earl felt the importance of those services which he had called into activity, and by which he had effected this great and happy change in the affairs of the East India Company, is fully and generously manifested in the following letter which he addressed to Mr. Dundas before he left Madras.

"The Earl of Mornington to the Right Honourable H. Dundas.

"*Fort St. George*, 1799.

"Sir,

"You will not be surprised at any degree of earnestness which I may feel to promote the interests of that gallant army, by whose assistance I have effected the late important and happy revolution in the affairs of the British nation on this side of India.

"Your own zeal for the public service, and the honourable support which it has always been your peculiar pride and pleasure to afford to those who have co-operated with you in the great cause in which we are all engaged, inspire me with a confident expectation, that I shall find in your sentiments a degree of cordiality and ardour correspondent with my own.

"The army at large have received, in the captured property taken at Seringapatam, a reward in some degree proportioned to their merits, and it is rather the province of the Com-

mander-in-Chief than mine to appreciate and recommend to notice the conduct of the officers of inferior rank to that of Generals on the staff. I shall therefore confine my recommendations to that rank.

"I have already had repeated occasion to express to you my feelings of public and private gratitude towards Lieutenant-General Harris, as well as to explain the strong grounds on which both those sentiments are founded in my mind. The share which General Harris has received of the prize taken at Seringapatam has placed his fortune above the want of any public aid; otherwise, I have no doubt that the magnitude of his services would have insured to him a liberal and munificent provision from the East India Company.

"Under Lieutenant-General Harris's actual circumstances, I should hope that his Majesty might deem it proper to confer a distinguished mark of honour upon that deserving officer; and, impressed as I am with the importance of the conquest achieved under Lieutenant-General Harris's command, I trust that his Majesty will confer no honours on General Harris below those of the order of the Bath, and of a peerage of Great Britain. It is my duty to state to you, that any honours inferior to these would not meet the public opinion entertained in India with respect to the importance of the late victories, nor satisfy

that sentiment of honourable pride which they have diffused through every branch of the civil and military service in this country. I must, therefore, make it my most anxious and earnest request to you, that you will omit no endeavour to obtain for Lieutenant-General Harris the honours which he has so well merited.

"Lieutenant-General Stuart, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Bombay, has long been distinguished for the ability and eminence of his services in India. During the late war, he has added considerably to his former laurels, and the victory obtained by the troops under his command at Sedaseer must ever be remembered as one of the most brilliant events in our military history of India. His health is now declining, and he proposes to return to Europe in the approaching season. His circumstances, even with the addition of his prize-money, will be moderate; and certainly, no military character in this quarter of the globe, whether considered on the ground of long service, eminent success, or approved integrity, ever was a more proper object for the munificence of the East India Company. I also trust that the splendid and important victory of Sedaseer will recommend Lieutenant-General Stuart to his Majesty for the order of the Bath.

"It is impossible to bestow too much commendation on the conduct of Major-General

Baird, in the assault of Seringapatam. A more judicious operation, conducted with more heroic gallantry and spirit, never was achieved; and when you recollect the decisive consequences of the success of that day, effecting within the course of two hours the entire destruction of our most formidable enemy in India, I am persuaded you will concur with me in an anxious solicitude to see the gallant leader of the assailants of Tippoo Sultaun's capital rewarded in a manner suitable to his exertions, and to their beneficial effect. I have made it my particular business to inquire into Major-General Baird's circumstances, and I have ascertained that they are by no means affluent; it would therefore be a peculiar satisfaction to me if the East India Company should exercise their known liberality in this case. When it is remembered, that in the course of active and arduous service during the former war, he fell into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and suffered a long and cruel imprisonment in the dungeons of that fortress, which, on the 4th of May, 1799, submitted to his irresistible valour and skill, I am persuaded that his claim to public reward and honour will be deemed peculiarly interesting and powerful. I should also hope that his extraordinary merits on the 4th of May would induce his Majesty to consider him as a proper object for the order of the Bath. I enclose a letter from Major-General Baird, which

reflects the highest credit on his sentiments of honour and public spirit.

"The Commander-in-Chief has made a very favourable report to me of the conduct of Major-General Floyd, who commanded the cavalry during the war. I understand that General Floyd proposes to return soon to Europe, and that his principal object is to obtain a regiment. The Commander-in-Chief has also made a very favourable report to me of the conduct of Major-Generals Bridges and Popham, of the Company's service, during the campaign; and I have already had occasion, in my letters to the Court of Directors, to applaud the services of Major-General Hartley on the coast of Malabar.

"It appeared to me that even those parts of this letter which relate to the bounty of the East India Company would be more properly addressed to you than to the Court of Directors, who might deem it presumptuous in one of their servants to affect to point out to them the proper objects of their liberality on such an occasion as the present. You will, however, make whatever use of this letter may appear to you most advisable.

"With regard to the several able and gallant officers, whom I have named, their persons were entirely unknown to me previously to my arrival in India, nor have I any knowledge of their respective families or connections in Europe. The services which they have rendered to the public

form the sole ground of my own acquaintance with them, and the only motive of the interest which I take in their welfare and honour. I know that the same circumstances will be their best recommendation to your countenance and protection.

Believe me, dear Sir,
with great respect and regard,
Yours, most faithfully and affectionately,
MORNINGTON."

Before General Harris embarked for England, he had the satisfaction of receiving "the thanks of the House of Commons and of the Court of Directors, for the whole of his able and meritorious conduct in the command of the forces of his Majesty and the East India Company, during the late glorious and decisive war with the Sultaun of Mysore, and particularly for the ability, judgment and energy with which he planned and directed the assault of Seringapatam, the success of which brilliant achievement had so highly contributed to the glory of the British name, and to the permanent tranquility of our possessions in the East."

General Harris had the further gratification of hearing from Colonel Wellesley, that all was quiet and prosperous in Mysore, in the following farewell letter.

"*Seringapatam, 4th December*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"My public communications with the Adjutant-General and with Government, have made you acquainted with the manner in which I have been going on here. You left me but little to do, and we are now quiet and prosperous every where.

"I hear that you sail shortly for England with Mrs. Harris and your family. I beg that you will do me the favour to present my best respects to her.

"I shall never forget the many marks of favour and kindness I have received from you, for which I again return my thanks. Wherever you go I shall always be glad to hear of your happiness, (of your success there is no doubt,)

And believe me, my dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obliged servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

CHAPTER XXIII.

In answer to the unfounded remarks contained in Mr. Hook's *Life of Sir David Baird*, upon the appointment of the Honourable Colonel Wellesley to the command of the Nizam's subsidiary force.

To have closed the account of General Harris's services in Mysore, with these just tributes of approbation, would have been the most natural, and to me the most gratifying, conclusion of my narrative. But the biographer of Sir David Baird, Mr. Hook, has thought himself at liberty, not only to treat that gallant officer as he would the hero of a novel, but to scatter unfounded censures upon the Commander-in-Chief, the Governor-General, and Colonel Wellesley, as conspirators against that monopoly of merit, which Mr. Hook assumes for Sir David Baird in the fall of Seringapatam.

In the support of this absurd claim, Mr. Hook has adopted the petty scandal of the gossips of the campaign of Mysore, in 1799, as authentic history, and has thus abused the name of Sir D. Baird, as a medium for defaming those who were the chief instruments of that great national service. As if the heads and hearts of Englishmen were not clear and large enough to

appreciate the just claims which each had upon his country's gratitude, and as if it were necessary for the character of Sir David Baird—

> . . . . . To raise
> Trophies for him from other men's dispraise.

The substance of the imputations against Lord Harris in the *Life of Sir David Baird*, is, that he disregarded his superior claims by appointing Colonel Wellesley to commands, which properly belonged to Major-General Baird; and that this partiality originated in a servile deference to the secret commands and private wishes of the Earl of Mornington, then Governor-General of India. He further states that Lord Harris was led by malice and envy to withhold from General Baird the applause he deserved.

The instances referred to in respect to Colonel Wellesley are, that he was appointed to command the Nizam's subsidiary force, in February, 1799, and afterwards selected to command the fortress of Seringapatam, when it had fallen by siege and assault of the British troops, on the 4th of May, 1799.

The simple statement of these transactions, confirmed by the letters of Sir David Baird and Colonel Wellesley, will satisfy every impartial reader, (and especially those who have any remembrance of the characters of the parties alluded to,) not only that these charges are entirely destitute of foundation, but that the kind

disposition and forbearance of the Commander-in-Chief, at Seringapatam, towards General Baird contributed greatly to the increased reputation, and well-earned independence, which that gallant officer had the opportunity of acquiring, after the conclusion of the campaign in Mysore.

When General Harris selected Colonel Wellesley for the command of the Nizam's subsidiary force, the officers superior in rank to the Colonel were thus employed,—

Major-Gen. Floyd . .	Commanding Cavalry.
Major-Gen. Bridges . .	Commanding Right Wing.
Major-Gen. Popham . .	Commanding Left Wing.

All these officers were senior to General Baird, and were of a reputation and service not to be superseded by a junior officer. No appointment, therefore, remained for General Baird in the line, but that of a brigade, and he was accordingly directed to command the European Brigade in the Right Wing.

In this order the army marched from Vellore on the 6th of February, 1799. On the 16th the Nizam's subsidiary force arrived at Goriatum, and the Commander-in-Chief determined that it should be strengthened by one European regiment from his army, and he selected the 33rd Regiment, Colonel Wellesley's, and, as senior officer, the temporary command of the subsidiary force necessarily devolved upon him.

He regretted to learn soon afterwards that Major-General Baird considered this appointment a supercession of his senior claims. The Commander-in-Chief sent for him, and explained to him that this was a political as well as a military appointment, and had reason to believe he had satisfied Major-General Baird that he had taken a very erroneous view of the matter; but General Baird thought fit to write the following letter to General Harris.

"*Camp, near Ryakottah, March* 4, 1798.

"Dear General,

"By a conversation this morning with Captain Young, I was happy to learn your present sentiments with regard to me, and that the reasons that induced you to appoint a junior officer to a higher command in this army than that which I hold, were such as would have been satisfactory to me had they been publicly known. I am perfectly sensible of your having the undoubted right, without being obliged to assign your reasons to any one, to select such officers as you may think proper for any service that may offer, and I am the last person that would expect you to act inconsistent with your situation. It must, however, appear extraordinary that a major-general, sent out expressly by his Majesty to serve on the staff in India, should remain in the command of three battalions, whilst a colonel serving in the same

army is placed at the head of seven, or rather thirteen, corps, and I may add a lieutenant-colonel (Browne), commanding a separate army, with the probability of having two of his Majesty's corps under him. Meer Allum's request to have the Governor-General's brother in command of the troops under him is certainly a good reason on that head; but this is only known to me privately, whilst, as the order now stands, I am apparently degraded in the eyes of the army and of my friends at home. Under these circumstances, I trust to your adopting such measures as to you may appear proper, in order that the real cause may be known of the appointment of Colonel Wellesley to a superior command.

I have the honour to be,
With much respect,
Dear sir, yours, most truly,
D. BAIRD."

"*To Lieutenant-General Harris, &c., &c., &c.*"

I find upon this original letter from Major-General Baird the following endorsement in the Commander-in-Chief's hand.

"To have answered it even as the rough draft enclosed must have been disagreeable; a fortunate turn saved me the necessity."

"To Major-General Baird.

"I have received your letter of the 4th instant, and am sorry you should have thought it necessary to renew the subject of Colonel Wellesley's late appointment. It appears to me, after what had passed between us, that you should have treated it, as it really is, as a political arrangement likely to be highly beneficial to the public service, and not as having any reference to command in the line, with which it has nothing to do. My personal regard for you induces me to give this explanation, and makes me wish thus to relieve your mind from every idea that there could be any inattention to your situation, and which, I trust, will be perfectly clear to you when you are acquainted that the contingent of the Nizam *can only* be commanded by a colonel*."

"The fortunate turn" here alluded to was the acknowledgment of Major-General Baird to the Commander-in-Chief that he had been wrong in his impressions respecting Colonel Wellesley's appointment, and therefore he requested the matter might be no further noticed. This, General Harris, with his usual kindness, very readily promised, and he faithfully kept his word. He did not comment severely, as he might have done,

* The agreement with the Nizam provided for the pay and allowances of all ranks, of which the highest was a colonel commanding.

upon the manifest inconsistency of avowing that the Commander-in-Chief had a right to select such officers as he might think proper, for any service, without being obliged to assign his reasons to any one, and in the next sentence presuming to call upon him, not only to assign his reasons, but to make those reasons public.

When General Harris selected the 33rd Regiment for service with the Nizam's detachment, Colonel Wellesley, who commanded it, was the senior officer belonging to the European regiments with the army.

The selection of any other person would, therefore, have been a supercession of the officer who had the first claim to it, and who possessed all the personal qualities, and all the political advantages, required in the commandant of this force, enjoying as he did the entire confidence of the Commander-in-Chief, and having before him the reasonable expectation of acquiring the confidence and respect of the Nizam's native commander, Meer Allum, who was very desirous of his appointment. General Harris, therefore, lost not a moment in giving effect to that measure when the contingent force joined his army; and it may be a profitable meditation for those who have a habit of being dissatisfied with everything not precisely of their own arrangement, to consider what would have been the effect upon Sir David Baird's future life if either of his desires, as ex-

pressed in his hasty letter to the Commander-in-Chief, had been complied with.

If he had been appointed to the Nizam's contingent, Colonel Wellesley, and not Sir David Baird, would have commanded the assault of Seringapatam, and I may at least venture to say that Colonel Wellesley would have been as perfect a hero of that day as Major-General Baird.

On the other hand, if his desire of superseding Lieutenant-Colonel Browne in the command of what he calls that "separate army" had been complied with, he would not have reached Seringapatam until ten days after the place had fallen, and the prize-committee would have excluded him, as they did Lieutenant-Colonel Browne, from all share of the booty. This exclusion, it is true, was disapproved by General Harris, severely reprehended by the Governor-General, and finally, though too tardily, corrected by the authorities at home; but still, if General Baird had followed the fortunes and march of that detachment, he would have received the same injustice from the prize-committee instead of that large share of applause and honourable prize, which General Harris's kinder and wiser employment of his services obtained for him.

It is "a little curious, too," as Mr. Hook so often observes in the course of his narrative, that the copy which he gives of Major-General Baird's letter to General Harris respecting Colonel Wel-

lesley's appointment to the Nizam's contingent, should entirely omit that part about "Lieutenant-Colonel Browne commanding a separate army, with the probability of having two of his Majesty's corps under him," to the prejudice of Major-General Baird's superior claims. The passage thus omitted contains within itself a refutation of the complaint which Mr. Hook labours to establish, *per fas et nefas*,—namely, that Colonel Wellesley was his only unworthy rival, and alone intruded upon his path, and this because of General Harris's servility to his brother, the Governor-General. However, to adopt again Mr. Hook's candid phraseology, "It is not our province to assign motives or arraign intentions; truth should be the historian's guide." General Baird's original letter, in his own handwriting, is now lying before me; it may be seen by any body*, it has been exactly copied in the preceding page, and the argument founded upon Mr. Hook's imperfect copy is not worthy of another remark in this place, except that which was addressed to a celebrated French biographer—"Ah, Monsieur, que votre ouvrage est beau! plus beau que la verité."

* At Mr. Parker's, West Strand.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In answer to the unfounded remarks contained in Mr. Hook's *Life of Sir David Baird*, upon the appointment of Colonel Wellesley to command in Seringapatam.

THE second instance of the injustice and neglect which Major-General Baird is alleged to have suffered from General Harris, was the appointment of Colonel Wellesley to relieve him after Seringapatam had fallen by siege and assault.

And here I am indebted to Mr. Hook for furnishing me with materials for the complete defence of my noble friend, and the condemnation of the prudence of General Baird's biographer.

I well remember Lord Harris expressing to me the great pleasure he felt when Major-General Baird saw the folly of some complaining letters which he had written to him upon the subject of Colonel Wellesley's appointment to Seringapatam, and how readily he had complied with his request that they might be cancelled and forgot; therefore, neither the originals nor copies of them were found among his papers, but Mr. Hook has given the copies as follow.

"To Lieut.-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c.

"*Camp, Seringapatam, May* 6, 1799.

"Sir,

"Having, in a letter which I had this morning the honour to address to you, given a detailed account of the assault of the Fort of Seringapatam, the conduct of which you did me the honour to entrust to me, permit me now, sir, to address you on the subject of the events which have taken place since that time. Having been honoured with the conduct of the assault, and having executed that duty to your satisfaction, I naturally concluded that I should have been permitted to retain the command of Seringapatam, or, at least, that I should not be superseded in it by a junior officer. Judge, then, my surprise, when expecting to have the honour of delivering to you the keys of Seringapatam in the palace of the late Tippoo Sultaun, and of congratulating you on the most brilliant victory that ever graced the British arms in India, to have an order put into my hands by Colonel Wellesley, by which I found myself instantly superseded in the command by that officer. I am really ignorant what part of my conduct could merit such treatment. When, on a former occasion, Colonel Wellesley was appointed to the command of the detachment serving with his Highness the Nizam, while I remained in charge of a brigade, you informed me that matters of a

political nature made it necessary to have that officer with the Nizam's army. Although I severely felt the appointment of a junior officer to so distinguished a command while I remained in an inferior station, I submitted to the necessity which you informed me dictated the measure; but this second supercession I feel most sensibly, as it must have the effect of leading his Majesty and the Commander-in-Chief in England to believe that I am not fit for any command of importance, when it has been thought proper to give the command of Seringapatam to Colonel Wellesley, while he, at the same time, continues to hold the command of the Nizam's detachment. In camp it is rumoured to have been at my own request, that another officer was appointed to the command of Seringapatam; you, sir, must know that this is not the case; the request, if made, must have been made by me to you, and, so far from its ever being my intention to make such a request, if, after the assurances I have repeatedly received from you, that you would take the first opportunity of placing me in a situation more adequate to the rank I hold than that of the command of a brigade, I had deemed it necessary to make any request to you, it would have been to be placed in the command of Seringapatam; and when I reflected that my two seniors, belonging to the coast army, continued to stand appointed to the northern and southern divisions of the

Carnatic, and that the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, the next junior to me, stood appointed to the command of an army, while I remained in charge of a brigade, I should have felt I was hinting a doubt, which I never entertained, of the sincerity of those assurances, if I made a particular application for the command of Seringapatam; indeed, I could not think it necessary. Some mistake may have arisen from my having, through Major Beatson, expressed a desire that the whole storming party might be relieved from camp, so that order might be established, and troops more equal to take the fatigue of guard mounting during the night be placed in the Fort; and I wished to be relieved for a short time, that I might myself have had the honour of reporting our success, and informing you in person of every particular relating to the storm. This not having been found convenient, I desired Captain Young, Deputy Adjutant-General of his Majesty's troops, who was proceeding to camp at daylight next morning, to inform you that, as I was much recovered from the fatigues of the preceding day, I wished not to be relieved till I had examined the state of the works, and ascertained the number of cannon captured. I received a letter from Captain Young, long before Colonel Wellesley superseded me, informing me that he had made my request known to you. I cannot but feel obliged by your having enabled me to act so dis-

tinguished a part in the storm, though I find so little attention has, in every other instance, been paid to my requests, that I am almost led to believe my being employed on that occasion, was owing to my being the only officer of rank who had made a voluntary offer of his services. I request that copies of this letter may be transmitted to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, for the information of his Majesty, that, at the same time he is informed of my having been twice superseded by Colonel Wellesley, he may be in possession of such reasons as you shall think proper to give for it, that he may be satisfied the measure was dictated by necessity, and not by any want of capacity on my part to fill the situation.

I have the honour, &c.

D. BAIRD."

"To MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD.

"*Camp, Seringapatam, 8th May.*

"Sir,

"The Commander-in-Chief directs me to inform you, that he has this day received from Major of Brigade Falconer, your report of the assault entrusted to your conduct on the 4th instant, and that, ever ready to do justice to the merits of officers under his command, he is happy in the occasion you have given him for taking particular notice of the conduct of Colonel

Sherbrooke. I am also directed to acknowledge the receipt of the very improper letter which accompanied your report. The distinguished command for which you were selected by the Commander-in-Chief, and the sentiments he has so publicly and recently expressed on that occasion, sufficiently mark what was his sense of your military merit; and it is with regret that he now finds himself compelled to blame a total want of discretion and respect in an officer of your high rank and length of service, in terms so opposite to those in which he was lately so happy to applaud your gallantry, humanity, and zeal. Lieutenant-General Harris is persuaded that an officer who thinks himself authorized to remonstrate with his immediate superior, can never be usefully employed in the army he commands. Should you, therefore, continue to hold sentiments so opposite to the principles of military subordination, you have his permission to proceed by the first safe conveyance to Fort St. George. The Commander-in-Chief will certainly forward to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, copies of your letter and his reply.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

P. A. AGNEW,

Mil. Sec. to the Commander-in-Chief."

"Sir,

"I yesterday received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, your public secretary, which has created in me the greatest astonishment. Conceiving myself injured, and my military character in some degree impeached, in the repeated preference that had been shown to my junior, the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, in nominating him to distinguished commands, whilst I, serving with the same army, was still left in my original situation of commandant of a brigade; and feeling as I conceived every military man, in a similar situation would have felt, on being superseded by the same officer in the command of the important fortress of Seringapatam, I thought it due to my own character to address you on that subject; and I can safely affirm that, in the address, it was my firm intention to make to you the most respectful statement of facts. On the receipt of your secretary's letter, I again and again perused the one I had had the honour to address to you; and, after every attempt, must acknowledge myself unable to discover one paragraph, or even one word, which can be construed into the smallest disrespect. God knows, such an idea was the furthest from my thoughts; I, therefore, feel with double sensibility the unmerited asperity of your secretary's letter, which I can hardly bring myself to believe to contain your real sentiments. If, however, I am wrong

in this conjecture, I trust you will enable me to clear myself before a general court-martial, from which I can have nothing to fear, being satisfied in my own mind that there is not an officer in this, or in any army, who more abhors the crime of which I stand accused. It was my intention, from the moment I was superseded in the command of Seringapatam, to apply for permission to quit the army, as soon as I deemed my services to my King and country no longer required my remaining with it. My wish is still to do so, and I shall, when there is no longer an appearance of the army's being actively employed, make an application to you to that effect. If, however, you still persevere in your determination of ordering me from the army, in consequence of the respectful representation I have thought myself authorized to make to you, I shall, in that case, only have to regret the necessity there will be for making my removal from the army, and the circumstances which occasioned it, equally public.

(Signed) D. BAIRD."

"To MAJOR-GENERAL BAIRD, &c. &c. &c.

"*Seringapatam.*

"Sir,

"The Commander-in-Chief has received your letter of the 9th instant, and directed me to inform you in reply, that the explanation therein

given has produced no change in the sentiments expressed by his order on the 7th instant, in my letter to you. It was not on the words, but the tenor of your letter of the 6th instant, that the Commander-in-Chief thought it his duty to remark. He never can admit the right of any subordinate officer to remonstrate with him on the propriety of measures he has adopted for the public service; or on his selection of officers for situations of public trust. In assuming this privilege, he still thinks that you have been wanting in discretion and respect; and your letter of yesterday has in a great measure removed the concern he felt at the necessity which obliged him to inform you that such were his opinions. Lieutenant-General Harris desires that this letter may conclude a correspondence which you are at liberty to make as public as possible.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
P. A. AGNEW,
Mil. Sec. to the Commander-in-Chief."

It appears clearly from Major-General Baird's first letter, that after the assault, he did himself that very night convey to the Commander-in-Chief, through Major Beatson, his desire that the "whole storming party might be relieved from the camp, and troops more equal to take the fatigue of guard-mounting during the night be

placed in the Fort;" and the letter adds, "I wished to be relieved for a short time that I might myself have the honour of reporting our success, and informing you in person of every particular relative to the storm."

But the Major-General's wish to be relieved that night was not, and could not properly be complied with; although Colonel Wellesley, who was next on the Roster, was put in orders that night. The lateness of the hour at which one of the most important operations of the day was concluded forbad it. The Sultaun's body was not found till torch-light, and the introduction of fresh troops under the circumstances in which the Fort was then placed, would have added greatly to the confusion and horrors of the night. Every part of the relief was necessarily and prudently postponed until the sun rose, to shed his light upon the awful deeds which had been done on the preceding day and night, within the walls of the fortress, where no less than 9,000 human bodies were claiming the rites of sepulture.

But if the Commander-in-Chief had never received any application from Major-General Baird, his own sense of duty would have led him to pursue exactly the course which the Major-General had recommended. He would have sent the next senior officer from the trenches who had not been on the storming party, and a competent number of fresh troops, to relieve the whole at the

earliest practicable moment, and Colonel Wellesley being that officer, it fell to him, as matter of ordinary duty, to be employed upon it.

There was, in the first instance, no selection of Colonel Wellesley, because he was the brother of the Governor-General, or because he was the best person that could be sent. I have found a memorandum of a conversation between the Commander-in-Chief and the Deputy Adjutant-General, Major Turing, on this occasion, which sets this matter quite at rest. Upon receiving General Baird's application to be relieved, he communicated it to Major Turing, and asked who was the next officer for duty. "Colonel Roberts," said Major Turing. "Then put him in orders to go," replied General Harris. Presently afterwards Major Turing, looking more attentively over the order, said, "No, Sir, I have made a mistake; Colonel Wellesley is the next for duty, not Colonel Roberts." "Then let Colonel Wellesley be put in orders for the relief," said General Harris. Colonel Wellesley, accordingly, went in the common routine of military duty, expecting himself to be relieved whenever the Commander-in-Chief should think fit. Indeed, at the moment when Colonel Wellesley entered the Fort, and General Baird left it, the Commander-in-Chief could not say that the presence of both these distinguished officers might not be immediately required in the active duties of the field. We

had, it is true, got Seringapatam, and found Tippoo's body, late in the evening, under a heap of slain, and it was removed to the palace. All that could then have been positively said, was, as the immortal Gray sung of the merciless Edward,

> Mighty Victor, mighty Lord,
> Low on his funeral couch he lies,
> No pitying heart, no eyes afford
> A tear to grace his obsequies,
> The sable warrior's fled,
> He rests among the dead.

But whether the "swarm that in his noon-tide beam were born," should be quickly ranged under some of his ferocious progeny, was still to be seen, and until this was decided, no permanent commandant could be properly appointed for the fortress of Seringapatam.

On the following day, Abdul Khadir, the elder of the princes formerly one of the hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our outposts. Kureem Saheb, the brother of Tippoo, sought refuge with Meer Allum, and on the succeeding two days, he had reason to look for Cummur-ud-Deen's immediate submission; and as the army of the Sultaun relied chiefly upon him, the Commander-in-Chief expected, through his means, to be enabled at once to restore tranquillity.

It was in the progress of these happy events that General Harris received the following letter

from Colonel Wellesley, and to which, I desire to call the particular attention of the reader.

"*Seringapatam, May* 6, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"Plunder is stopped—the fires are all extinguished, and the inhabitants are returning to their houses fast. I am now employed in burying the dead, which I hope will be completed this day, particularly if you send me all the pioneers.

"It is absolutely necessary that you should appoint a permanent garrison and a commanding officer to the place. Till that is done, the people will have no confidence in us, and everything must be in confusion. That which I arrange this day, my successor may alter to-morrow, and his the next day, and nothing will ever be settled. A garrison which would be likely to remain here would soon make themselves comfortable, although it might be found convenient hereafter to change some of the corps first sent in; but these daily reliefs create much confusion and distrust in the inhabitants, and the camp is at such a distance, that it is impossible for the officers, or soldiers, or sepoys, to get down their dinners.

"I shall be obliged to you if you will order an extra dram and biscuit for the 12th, 33rd, and 73rd Regiments, who got nothing to eat yesterday, and were wet last night.

"In hopes that you will attend to my recom-

mendations to send a garrison to-morrow, I'll look out a place to accommodate one or two battalions of Europeans, and three or four of Sepoys.

I am, my dear Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

For all the reasons stated in this letter, and, in consideration of the happy change which had taken place in the two days which had intervened since General Baird was relieved by Colonel Wellesley, the Commander-in-Chief determined to appoint Colonel Wellesley to the command of the fortress, and to give him a more permanent garrison. This was no sooner done, than General Baird was persuaded to remonstrate, in the unbecoming terms already quoted, against the Commander-in-Chief's selection. He received the reproof which he felt that he well deserved, and it had the happy effect of recalling him to a more correct view of his duty. He requested that he might be allowed to withdraw the correspondence which had passed, and to this the Commander-in-Chief consented, from "personal regard." These are the very words used in General Harris's private journal respecting this transaction, written in his own hand, and, on the following day, he wrote to the Earl of Mornington as follows:—

"*Seringapatam, May 9th*, 1799.

"My dear Lord,

"That I most sincerely congratulate your Lordship on our most fortunate successes I feel you will give me entire credit for, without my dwelling further on the point. The Almighty has been pleased to grant a victory so complete in all its events, as to leave nothing on my side to ask, but that your Lordship will come and regulate the political concerns for the benefit of all.

"You may be assured that every order or wish of yours, signified to me, shall in future, as heretofore, be carried into execution with all possible despatch, but for the good of our country, I really think your presence here necessary. For my part, politics have never been my study, exclusive of which my constitution is evidently giving way to the anxieties I have already gone through, and I am fearful will fail altogether, unless allowed to recruit in quiet. I cannot expect that the world shall allow that the anxieties of the expedition were proportionably great to the shortness of the period in which it has been executed, but I best know, that had mine been divided into as many years, as we have been months, they would still have worn me down; added to this, I am not so equal to fatigue as I thought myself,—from all which I shall be much obliged by your Lordship making such arrange-

ments, as to let me return as soon as convenient after our meeting here. In the meantime you may depend that the same active measures which, under Providence, have so greatly tended to our success, shall still be continued, and that we shall not sit down content with having taken the capital, but proceed, with all possible despatch, to secure the country.

I am, with the greatest regard, my Lord,
Your most truly faithful and obliged
Friend and servant,
GEORGE HARRIS."

In this letter there is no allusion to Major-General Baird's intemperate proceeding, although the Commander-in-Chief had felt it most acutely: the more so, because his own health had been sinking, during the preceding fortnight, under disorder and anxiety, which, to use his own expressions, "had not yielded even to the great event which had given him fortune and fame." "My complaint still continues, and I remain weak and enervated as before." Indeed, it was not until the latter end of the month that his strength began to return, as the disorder (the Seringapatam fever) subsided; and, in the beginning of June, I find the following entry in his Journal:—

"*June 8th.*—Delivered to Major-General Baird the sword voted to him by the Prize Committee.

I had directed officers commanding wings, brigades, and corps to meet me at my tent, when I addressed them nearly as follows:—

"'Gentlemen, I have assembled this very respectable meeting on an occasion which I have no doubt will give equal pleasure to us all. The Prize Committee, of which Major-General Floyd is President, have requested me to present to Major-General Baird, in the name of the army, the sword of Tippoo Sultaun, found in his bed-chamber on the day the tyrant fell, with an extract of their proceedings.' The extract I then read, and, taking the sword from Scott (my aide-de-camp) said, 'Major-General Baird, I have now the pleasure to present you the sword you have so honourably obtained, and most sincerely wish you long to wear it.' He was too much agitated to make any connected answer."

In the evening he sent to the Commander-in-Chief a letter, of which the following is an exact copy:—

"To Lieutenant-General Harris, Commander-in-Chief.

"*Camp near Seringapatam, June 8th*, 1799.

"Sir,

"From the state of my feelings this morning, I really was incapable of making any reply to the distinguished honour which the army has been pleased to present to me through you, and which I receive with the utmost gratitude and

respect. To know that I possess the good opinion of this gallant army is most gratifying to my feelings, particularly so, as it insures that of my King and country, which is the highest ambition of a soldier.

"Permit me to return you my warmest thanks for the very handsome manner in which you expressed yourself to me on that occasion; and I request you will have the goodness to forward these, my sentiments, to Major-General Floyd, President of the Committee of Prize.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With the utmost respect,
Your most obedient servant,
D. BAIRD,
Major-General."

Thus closed the correspondence of Major-General Baird and his Commander-in-Chief. From that time until the year in which they died (1829), I never heard of any unkind word or deed —indeed, in the year before Sir David Baird's death, his sense of justice prompted him voluntarily to disclaim whatever merit might belong to an act which had been imputed to him, instead of to General Harris, and upon this erroneous imputation Mr. Hook has founded one of the most sentimental passages in his biography of Sir David Baird. It is lamentable, however, to read, in a publication professing to be a faithful record of the life of Major-General Baird, such a passage as the following:—

"It so happens that, in all Lord Wellesley's despatches to England, after the capture of Seringapatam, the name of General Baird does not once appear,—a fact rendered more striking, because General Harris has observed a similar silence in all the despatches which he addressed to the Governor-General. We might, perhaps, rather say that the silence of the Governor-General upon the conduct of General Baird, arose from the apparently studied omission of his name in all the documents upon which his Excellency had to form an opinion of the various merits of the officers concerned in that brilliant affair."

And then follows, in a note, these observations:—

"It is not our province to assign motives, or arraign intentions, more especially as years have passed since the occurrence of the events here recorded, and the gallant object of our care and affection is gone to a place where neither malice can assail, or envy thwart him; but it is a curious circumstance, that in nothing communicated by General Harris to Lord Wellesley, except General Orders, mention is made of General Baird personally, nor, as we have observed in the text, does Lord Wellesley name in any despatch to England."

After such assertions and comments as these, what will the reader think of this part of Mr.

Hook's biography, when he recurs to the letter written by the Earl of Mornington to Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, and to General Harris's letter to the Governor-General of the 7th of May, 1799*?

The following is an extract from the Earl of Mornington's letter to Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control:—

"*Fort St. George, August*, 1799.

"It is impossible to bestow too much commendation on the conduct of Major-General Baird in the assault of Seringapatam. A more judicious operation, conducted with more heroic gallantry and spirit, never was achieved; and when you recollect the decisive consequences of the success of that day, effecting in the course of two hours the entire destruction of our most formidable enemy in India, I am persuaded you will concur with me in an anxious solicitude to see the gallant leader of the assailants of Tippoo Sultaun's capital rewarded in a manner suitable to his exertions, and to their beneficial effect. I have made it my particular business to inquire into Major-General Baird's circumstances, and I have ascertained that they are by no means affluent; it would, therefore, be a peculiar satis-

* Vide page 349.

faction to me, if the East India Company would exercise their known liberality in his case. When it is remembered that, in the course of active and arduous service during the former war, he fell into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and suffered a long and cruel imprisonment in the dungeons of that fortress, which, on the 4th of May, 1799, submitted to his irresistible valour and skill, I am persuaded that his claims to public reward and honour will be deemed peculiarly interesting and powerful. I should also hope that his extraordinary merits on the 4th of May would induce his Majesty to consider him a proper object for the order of the Bath. I enclose a letter from Major-General Baird, which reflects the highest credit on his sentiments of honour and public spirit."

If that gallant officer could, indeed, rise from that place "where neither malice can assail, nor envy thwart him," he would indignantly disclaim a sympathy purchased by such foul injustice done to his commanders and best protectors. Lord Wellesley, it is seen, praised him *usque ad astra:* and these recommendations, both of pecuniary reward and of personal honour, were founded upon General Harris's letter to his Lordship of the 7th of May, in which he leaves to General Baird the entire credit of that admirable plan for the assault which he had himself laid down for his

guidance, and which was distinctly detailed in the Adjutant-General's instructions*, and upon his General Orders to the army, which military men do not, like Mr. Hook, appreciate as "nothing," but value as the most solemn recognition of their services.

The Commander-in-Chief, after thanking General Baird in the warmest terms, in General Orders, for the decided and able manner in which he conducted the assault, and the humane measures which he subsequently adopted for preserving order and regularity in the place, "expressed his confidence to the Governor-General that he would point out his services" to the favourable notice of his King and country†.

A man's appetite for panegyric must be gluttonous indeed, who could desire more than Lord Mornington and the Commander-in-Chief recorded of him, and yet I find, in Mr. Hook's *Life of Major-General Baird,* this insinuation: "Nor did Major-General Baird get so far into the history or mystery of the affair, as to ascertain whether his Lordship ever did make the application in his favour to the British Government."

What Lord Mornington did has been sufficiently shown; and Lord Harris did more for

* See copy of Colonel Close's letter of the 3rd May, 1799, to Major-General Baird, and its enclosures.—Hook's *Life*, pp. 201—205.

† See General Harris's letter to the Earl of Mornington, 7th May, 1799.

Major-General Baird than even Lord Mornington had done in thus warmly recording all his good deeds. He cancelled his letters written when a rash humour triumphed over his better nature. He reported nothing to Lord Mornington, or to the Commander-in-Chief in England, of his intemperate and insubordinate letters. General Baird owed a large debt of gratitude to the forbearance and silence of his superior officer. Hence the Marquis Wellesley appointed him to command the expedition against Mauritius and Batavia, which afterwards went to Egypt, most reluctantly superseding his illustrious brother, Colonel Wellesley; and hence the Duke of York subsequently sanctioned his command of the forces by which the Cape of Good Hope was taken.

Those who may have read Mr. Hook's description of the manner in which Lord Wellesley first received General Baird's claim to command the expedition to Mauritius and Batavia, in preference to Colonel Wellesley, will have no difficulty in determining what would have been the choice of the noble Marquis, if he had then had before him, with suitable comments, the correspondence of General Baird with his late Commander-in-Chief at Seringapatam, which Mr. Hook has thought fit to publish. Military men, more conversant with such matters than I am, and better acquainted with the lofty feelings of the Duke of

York upon points of discipline, will as easily decide what would have been his Royal Highness's judgment, when General Baird's name was submitted to him for a responsible command, if his correspondence with the Commander-in-Chief at Seringapatam had been transmitted to head-quarters. Such a glaring instance of want of discretion and respect would, I apprehend, have called forth his Royal Highness's marked animadversion, in support of those principles of subordination in all ranks, by which "he raised the British army from a very low ebb, to be the pride and dread of Europe*."

The notion that any feeling of malice, or envy of General Baird, or of any man breathing, could enter into the noble heart of Lord Harris, is falsified by the whole course of his just and honourable life. He grudged to no man the fame and fortune he had honourably and honestly acquired. Indeed, his letter to Lord Mornington, when honours were proposed for himself, will prove how little he coveted what the noble Lord thought due to him, and he was utterly incapable of desiring to usurp the honours of those who served under him. He gave to all their full share of praise, well measured, and heaped-up†. He

* Sir Walter Scott.

† See his General Orders after the siege and capture of Seringapatam of the 5th May, 1799, and his letter to the Governor-General, applauding the exertions of the Staff of the Army, dated 13th May, 1799.

never reproved but with painful reluctance, and under a strong sense of public duty.

To him who has cast this odious imputation upon General Harris, and to those who have taken pleasure in reading it, I leave the mortification of seeing the just rebuke of their unworthy feelings in the following extract from his admirable letter to the Earl of Mornington, dated 27th June, 1799 *

"My dear Lord,—You are far exceeding my humble wishes, and I really believe those of Mrs. Harris, or rather you would do so, if you preferred the request to his Majesty—to grant to me the dignity of a Baron of Great Britain. I am highly sensible of your Lordship's friendship, and any mark of his Majesty's favour would always be received by me with respect, but, as I certainly do not wish these high honours, so should I be truly sorry you should lay yourself under obligations, for what, to say the truth, would annoy me most exceedingly.

"Indeed, my dear Lord, you could not have puzzled me more, supposing I was solicitous to succeed, than by asking me, 'What title I would choose to take?' An humble clergyman's son, thrown very early in life into the army, entirely a soldier of fortune, with scarce any assistance, save his own exertions, is little likely to have any

* Marquess Wellesley's *Despatches*, page 617.

hereditary place he would choose to commemorate, and in my instance the 5th Regiment was near twenty-six years my constant home.

"Your Lordship's wise policy and extraordinary exertions have thrown me into affluence equal to my most sanguine wishes; but what is affluence with my military rank, would be very moderate to support the honours you propose, and no doubt, as I am above the want of a pension, so I think it most likely I shall keep clear of soliciting our honourable employers on that head, unless you should persist in forcing these honours on me. So take care.

Ever, my dear Lord,
With the greatest respect,
Your very faithful and obliged,
GEO. HARRIS."

That the jealous feelings which General Baird had expressed upon the subject of Colonel Wellesley's appointment to command the fortress of Seringapatam gave much uneasiness to the Commander-in-Chief cannot be doubted; for it furnished an additional topic of clamour, gossip, and intrigue, to those who were already discontented with the determined resistance made by General Harris to the application of the prize-committee in behalf of the army for an immediate distribution of the booty taken by assault. This demand was founded upon an authority greatly

revered by the army in India—the Marquis Cornwallis—and therefore naturally excited their sanguine expectations. His Lordship had declared in public orders during the last war, that all booty taken in places by assault belonged of right to the captors. General Harris's refusal to permit a division of the spoil until it had been approved of by the Earl of Mornington, the Governor-General, therefore produced much discontent; but he discharged his painful duty with firmness, and was rewarded by witnessing in that army their high sense of discipline and patience under this temporary disappointment, and by soon receiving from the Governor-General full authority to distribute the prize according to the established usages of the British service in India in cases of a similar nature. But whilst this important matter remained in suspense, it excited great bitterness of feeling, which enabled the idle and ill-intentioned talkers in the camp, upon what was absurdly called General Baird's supercession by Colonel Wellesley's appointment, to direct this feeling against the Commander-in-Chief. It was with the knowledge of what was passing, that General Harris thus wrote to the Earl of Mornington:—

"*Camp, Milgottah, June* 28, 1799.

"I glory in the 4th of May, my dear Lord, and shall rejoice to see you before your Lordship returns to Bengal; but neither that wish, nor my

wife's, shall interfere with a sight of the Mahrattas. I have acted from the heart ever since you have known me, and so I trust I shall be enabled to continue until your Lordship shall honourably call me from my labours. Ill-intentioned people talk nonsense, I hear, of your brother's appointment to command in Seringapatam; but I can defend it on principles most militarily correct, if it were worth while to attend to the words of the idle. Colonel Wellesley was the next officer to relieve Baird, who had requested to be relieved. So little did I think of any particular person at the time, that Roberts was named by Turing as next for duty, and agreed to by me, when Turing corrected himself, and said Colonel Wellesley was next. 'Then let him go,' was my answer. He was afterwards permanently appointed by me, from my thinking him more equal to the particular kind of duty than any other officer in the army."

This was Lord Mornington's answer to that part of the letter which referred to Colonel Wellesley's appointment:—

"*July* 7, 1799.

"With respect to the language which you say people have held of my brother's appointment to command in Seringapatam, you know that I never recommended my brother to you, and of course never even suggested how, or where, he should be employed; and I believe you know also,

that you would not have pleased me by placing him in any situation in which his appointment could be injurious to the public service. My opinion, or rather knowledge and experience, of his discretion, judgment, temper, and integrity, are such, that if you had not placed him in Seringapatam, *I would* have done so of my own authority, because I think him in every point of view the most proper for that service.

MORNINGTON."

No man, who knows what was the nature of the service to be performed by the permanent commandant of Seringapatam at that moment, will wonder that the Governor-General should have declared thus distinctly to General Harris, "If *you* had not placed Colonel Wellesley in command, *I* would." But General Harris had been deeply sensible of the weighty responsibility which attached to him on the death of Tippoo, when the destinies of an empire hung in the balance, and when he was the sole guardian of the high interests involved in this momentous charge, until Lord Mornington should decide upon the future policy to be pursued.

With a full sense of the imperative necessity of selecting, as a commandant for Seringapatam, one in whose talents, integrity, and discretion, unbounded confidence could be placed, he appointed Colonel Wellesley, and was proud of his choice to the last hour of his life.

CHAPTER XXV.

Recapitulation of those events of the campaign in Mysore which preceded the fall of Seringapatam—Recital of other circumstances connected with its fall.

HAVING thus given what I believe to be a sufficient answer to Mr. Hook's unfounded strictures upon General Harris's selection of Colonel Wellesley to command the Nizam's detachment and the Fort of Seringapatam, I shall now examine the grounds of that monopoly of merit which Mr. Hook assumes for Sir David Baird in the fall of that place.

This is an act of justice due not only to the Commander-in-Chief and the many able officers under him, but to the whole of the army who were engaged in the conquest of Mysore. It is also the more necessary because this matter has never been fairly understood in England. Here the easy task, as it proved, of taking possession of the Fort on the 4th of May, has been considered as every thing, and all the other events of the campaign as comparatively nothing. For the continuance of this error Mr. Hook has laboured diligently, but not judiciously, for he has prolonged the memory of acts which Sir David Baird earnestly desired should be forgotten, and has ascribed to him other deeds and words which

that gallant officer would have indignantly disclaimed. That Sir David Baird was always ready for any service of danger no man can justly doubt, and it was no fault of his, that he bore no prominent part in any other operation which led to the conquest of Mysore, than in the assault of Seringapatam. But it so happened that nothing else of importance fell within the range of his duty.

In the first hostile affair of the campaign, the defeat of the flower of Tippoo's army at Sedaseer by Colonel John Montrésor, Colonel Dunlop, and Generals Hartley and Stuart, and in the spirited repulse of Tippoo's attacks upon the Bombay troops after they reached Seringapatam by Colonel Vaughan Hart, General Baird had no part, because he was never present with the Army of Bombay. In the complete overthrow of Tippoo's designs at Mallavelly by the Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Shawe, Colonel Wellesley, and General Floyd; in the masterly crossing of the Cavery at Soosilly; in the successful attacks upon the Sultaunpettah watercourse and Tope by Colonel Shawe and Colonel Wellesley; in the assault of the enemy's intrenchments, and in the seizure of the ground for erecting our heavy batteries, by Colonel Wellesley and Colonel Sherbrooke, Lieutenant-Colonels Wallace, St. John, M'Donald, Campbell, and Monypenny, and Major Skelly and Major Coleman; in all these, the pro-

gressive operations of the campaign, which drove the enemy from the field and from their works, and pushed our success to the walls of Seringapatam, General Baird had no concern, for none of these occurred where he happened to be present, or on the days when he commanded the trenches in rotation with other officers. All these events, however, sunk deep into the hearts of the bravest of Tippoo's officers and men, and contributed to make an easy path for the assailants on the day of the assault. For in six minutes from the moment our troops moved out of the trenches, the British colours were planted in triumph upon a breach, one hundred feet wide, and easy of ascent. The defences to the right and left having been previously silenced by our batteries, the breach was, in fact, a place of safety; the danger was in getting to it across the Cavery, but this was soon over. There was nothing like that lengthened, awful and doubtful struggle for victory which had been anticipated in the storming of a fortress, whose works are, even in their ruin, still stupendous to look at, on whose walls were mounted 287 pieces of ordnance, whose arsenals were filled with every munition of war*, and all

Brass and iron guns . .	929
Gunpowder	520,000 lbs.
Round iron shot	424,000
Firelocks, carbines, muskets .	120,000

Stores and provisions of every kind in abundance.

the stores required for a protracted siege, whose available garrison was not less than 20,000 men, and whose leaders were men of known and desperate courage. But the time for the assault was so happily chosen and so well concealed from Tippoo by General Harris, and the whole details of the siege had been conducted under his orders by the many able officers in the different departments with such masterly skill and vigour, that what appeared to Tippoo impossible, proved in the hour of trial to be no difficult undertaking. In fact, his mind was so little apprehensive of the result of the storm, and so thoroughly satisfied that it would not take place on the day in which it happened, that he could not be persuaded to take the most ordinary precautions of defence, though they were earnestly pressed upon him by his bravest officer, Seyid Goffhâr. The degree of his infatuation is well described by Colonel Wilks, who succeeded Colonel Close in superintending the Hindoo government of Mysore, and his high character and attainments are the best pledges for the truth of the following statement.

"On the morning of the 4th of May, Seyid Goffhâr, who was wounded early in the siege, exclaimed, 'The Sultaun is surrounded by boys and flatterers, who will not let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result; I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it.' Having satisfied himself by further observa-

tion that one hour would not elapse before the assault would commence, he hurried, in a state of rage and despair, towards the Sultaun. 'I will go,' said he, 'and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded. I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment.' He was going, and met a party of pioneers, whom he had long looked for in vain, to cut off the approach by the southern rampart. 'I must first,' said he, 'show those people the work they have to do,' and, in the act of giving his directions, he was killed by a cannon shot*."

When the death of Seyid Goffhâr was reported to Tippoo, he was at his dinner, and our troops were just dashing out of the trenches to storm the Fort. Before he could reach the breach, the British flag was flying upon the top of it, and our soldiers were driving his fugitive troops before them upon both of the ramparts.

The return of our killed and wounded in the assault incontestably proves the limited nature of the resistance which the British columns encountered, for the whole loss very little exceeded that of one of the preceding days, and did not amount to one-fourth part of the whole loss sustained during the siege. It is also curious, and contrary to the general impression, that the casualties in the two columns of attack corresponded so nearly.

* See WILKS's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 436, 437.

In the left column, under Colonel Dunlop, and in the right column, under Colonel Sherbrooke, the number of killed was precisely the same, and the number of wounded was greater in the right than in the left column. But the whole number of killed, wounded, and missing, was only 386. Such was the small effect of the efforts of the garrison in opposing the entrance of our troops into the Fort, and it completely realised the anticipation of General Harris, as expressed in his letter to Sir George Robinson in February:—"Tippoo seems infatuated, and delivered into our hands." *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat,* appears to have been verified to the letter in Tippoo's case. There seems no other rational mode of accounting for the infatuation of him who had given to his dominion the title of "The Gift of God," or "the Khodadad Sirkar," but who, when corrupted by prosperity and power, forgot that the same overruling Providence could give it into other hands, if unworthily administered. Well did Lord Harris thus give expression in his Journal, on the night of the 4th of May, to the thoughts which filled his mind at the moment when it pleased God to make him the instrument for receiving this gift: "The Almighty only can judge of hearts, and I hope mine is found humble in His sight."

The human means by which Tippoo's empire was placed at the disposal of the British Government will be found in the wisdom, vigour, and

generosity displayed by the Earl of Mornington throughout the many great preparatory measures which preceded the actual operations of the campaign; in the fortitude, temper, and prudence of him who was selected by his Lordship to conduct those operations, in the due employment of the many able officers under his command, and in the bravery of the European and Native soldiery.

That the noble Earl's recommendations to the Ministers at home, whether of public honour or of pecuniary reward to the generals who served in that campaign, were most ungraciously received, no man had better opportunities of knowing than myself. General Harris shared the fate of many others who have all their lives endeavoured to do their duty to their King and country. He had for his enemies and traducers those who were restrained by his integrity from profiting by the public wants and disasters.

But Mr. Hook speaks of General Baird's cold reception by the authorities at home as "a miracle," and in his vain endeavours to solve it, he has represented many of those who were above General Baird, or acting with him in the public service in India, as the authors or instruments of injustice to him. If he had searched more accurately into the causes of this neglect, he would have discovered them partly in the querulous tone in which General Baird had sometimes been persuaded to indulge, and partly in its infectious

influence upon others, who were misled by it, as Mr. Hook has been. These were the causes which contributed to his failure in obtaining those honours which he had a right to expect from the authorities at home; for they conspired with other circumstances to cast a shade over and to disappoint the just claims of all the officers who were principally concerned in the Mysore campaign. More accurate knowledge of this subject would have restrained Mr. Hook from the injustice of imputing that neglect to General Baird's comrades. That General Harris should have felt keenly the unjust treatment of which General Floyd, General Stuart, General Baird, and Colonel Wellesley, complained, will be readily understood, but he never mentioned it without expressing his deep sense of all the honourable proofs which they gave of their devotion to the common cause in which they were embarked with him. There is one memorable instance of this conduct on the part of General Floyd, which I found carefully preserved amongst General Harris's papers. Though only a small pencil note written in camp and on horseback, it deserves to be known and remembered.

When the time for calling the Bombay Army under Lieutenant-General Stuart to take its share in the operations of the siege had arrived, the Commander-in-Chief felt that public injury might arise if General Stuart's arrangements and

authority were superseded by General Floyd, who was the senior officer, and commanding a powerful force of cavalry, which was indispensable to secure the safe junction of General Stuart's army. He therefore wrote privately to General Floyd, expressing his hope that, though senior in the line to Lieutenant-General Stuart, he would respect his authority as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, and this was the answer of General Floyd:—

"*3rd April*, 1799.

"My dear Sir,

"I will have the honour of waiting on you to-morrow, and of explaining that no circumstance of seniority on my part shall interfere with the public service, in the event of my meeting Lieutenant-General Stuart. He is an excellent fellow, and we should not differ. I will rather submit to receive his orders.

Yours, my dear Sir,
most faithfully,
J. Floyd.

"*Lieutenant-General Harris,*
Commander-in-Chief."

The patriotic feeling which prompted this resolution in the mind of General Floyd, upon a point on which military men are usually most tenacious, did him high honour. In the same packet with this note I found two other letters—one from

General Stuart, and the other from Colonel Wellesley, written in that frank and cordial spirit which had marked their whole conduct during the campaign, and from whom no expression, of discontent or jealousy sullied for a moment their most zealous co-operation and friendly intercourse with their Commander-in-Chief. Everything the Bombay Army was directed to execute was accomplished in the most masterly manner by Lieutenant-General Stuart; and, at the close of this service, he thus congratulated his Commander-in-Chief upon the issue of the siege and assault on the evening of the 4th of May:—

"*Camp, Seringapatam,*
4th May, 1799.

"My dear Harris,

"Accept my most warm and hearty congratulations on the brilliant and important event of the fall of Seringapatam. I will get as much of my small force together as I can, but I must still take care of the guns and ammunition in the batteries, as well as the batteries themselves, until we either take up another position, or something is done with them. On this subject I wish to have your instructions as soon as convenient, for I shall be in readiness to move to-morrow, were I to throw my rear to the Fort, my right in the direction of the Carighaut Hills, and my left to the Eadgah Redoubt, or any other position

which you may choose for us. For this purpose, I shall send our Quartermaster-General over to-morrow, that, if you have determined the point, he may consult with yours about occupying the ground.

"I have just heard you have got possession of the Sultaun's family.

"Many such fortunate and honourable days may Mrs. Harris and you see, prays your ever affectionate

J. STUART."

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Indian Government at home neglect all the principal officers engaged in the Mysore campaign.—They persecute General Harris, and persuade the King to give him no honours, and assist in prosecuting him in the Court of Chancery to deprive him of half his prize-money.—Are defeated in that Court.—They appeal to the Privy Council, and the Council confirm to General Harris the possession of all he had received.

The letter bound up with the preceding from General Stuart was from Colonel Wellesley, dated the 4th December, 1799*. These memorials of the good-will and confidence of these, his distinguished comrades, Lord Harris cherished to the end of his eventful life. At the same time, he could not comprehend why they had, like himself, been so long neglected by the Government at home, after the conclusion of this campaign.

There are also two letters from General Floyd, who was second in command during the Mysore campaign, and designated by Mr. Hook as Sir D. Baird's valued friend, expressing so strongly his disappointment in being wholly unnoticed upon his return home, that I shall here transcribe them. It will be seen that the unjust desire of imputing that disappointment to his Commander-in-Chief never entered into the mind of General Floyd; and I am satisfied that Sir David Baird also would

* See page 400.

never have given his sanction to the inferences so unwarrantably drawn, and so rashly scattered abroad, by his biographer.

"From General Floyd to General Harris.

"*August 18th*, 1802.

"I have no chance of red riband or red regiment; my performances in India, and my capacity to be of use here, are as much unknown and as much unthought of, as the merits of my boy Sammy in India. As to your conduct, my dear General, it is clear and honourable, and will appear so for ever and ever. You are one of the few men I have met with who acknowledges himself fortunate and happy. Your gratitude to the Almighty hand that gives, and that takes away, for wise purposes inscrutable to us all, renders you deserving of that happiness which will, I trust, abide by you always."

Again, in 1804: "There must have been something very disqualifying in the conquest of Tippoo and his empire in a single campaign, which renders you and me, and all of us, unworthy of notice. I thought it my duty to offer my very humble services, but I understand that it is not thought necessary, or even proper, as the Generals are understood to be always at his Majesty's service. I am sure it is a very comfortable reflection, that the long list of Generals that

we see on the Staff are all to be preferred before me."

That the personage designated by Mr. Hook as the constant rival of General Baird, Arthur Colonel Wellesley (and whose services in Mysore and in the Deccan were there, as they ever have been in the fields of Spain and France, above all price and praise,) felt this neglect deeply, is fully shown in his letter, dated in January, 1804, wherein he says, "I have served the Company in important situations for many years, and have never received anything but injury from the Court of Directors, although I am a singular instance of an officer who has served under all the governments, and in communication with all the residents and many civil authorities; and there is not an instance on record, or in any private correspondence, of disapprobation of any one of my acts, or a single complaint, or even a symptom of ill temper, from any one of the political or civil authorities in communication with whom I have acted.

"The King's ministers had as little claim upon me as the Court of Directors; I am not very ambitious, and I acknowledge that I never have been very sanguine in my expectations that military services in India would be considered on the scale in which are considered similar services in other parts of the world.

"But I might have expected to be placed on the Staff of India; and if it had not been for the lamented death of General Frazer, General Smith's arrival would have made me supernumerary. This is perfectly well known in the army, and is the subject of a good deal of conversation."

And who can wonder that such neglect should have excited observation, when it is remembered that this letter was written nearly a year and a-half after those splendid campaigns against the Mahrattahs, under Colonel Wellesley's command, which were crowned with the glorious battle of Assaye?

Nor was this neglect confined to Colonel Wellesley. The Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley, did not escape from it, as he has thus eloquently and recently written:—"Not the confidence and favour of three successive Sovereigns, not the dignity and power of various high official stations, not the government of my native country (Ireland) twice entrusted to my hands, could compensate in my mind the disfavour of that respectable authority under which my earliest and best services had been rendered to the empire." . . . . "With equal candour, justice, and liberality, without any solicitation on my part, without any interference or influence of any description—casting away all passion, prejudice, and error, the Company has relieved me from this

heavy burden of grief, and the delay which had occasioned so much affliction, now greatly enhances the value of the decision."

In this decision, however tardy, the present Indian authorities have done high honour to themselves, and have relieved the East India Company from that stain of injustice and ingratitude which had remained upon them too long.

But the treatment which General Harris received from the Indian authorities, on his return, was worse than this. It was not limited to neglect; it was a cruel attempt to deprive him not only of his good name, but of his property. They endeavoured to take away half of the prize-money he had received under the authority of the Governor-General, according to the established usages of the British Service in India, even after it had been confirmed by his Majesty's grant, upon the pretence that he had divided the booty without due sanction. This they proposed to do, by giving a retrospective effect to a fanciful theory of division, which never had been, and never can be, carried into practice in India. Amongst other absurdities, this scheme was made to place the European soldier and Native Sepoy upon an equality in their shares of prize-money, although all their allowances and all their wants are totally different, and to reduce the eighth of the Commander-in-Chief to a sixteenth. This attempt was persevered in for several years,

although every Commander-in-Chief in India before General Harris had received an eighth, and notwithstanding every Commander-in-Chief after him continued to receive the same share, of whom, the Duke of Wellington was one, and whose assertion of this right, with his accustomed force and truth, "was then on the records of Fort William."

"The Honourable Colonel Wellesley to the Governor-General.

"*22nd August*, 1804.

"As Commander-in-Chief by your Excellency's appointment of the Army of the Deccan in the late war, I am entitled to one-eighth of the property captured, and given by your Excellency to the troops as prize; and I am desirous of knowing whether I shall draw gratuity upon the same principle.

Arthur Wellesley.

The treatment General Harris received was the more bitter to him, because it was supported by those whom he had been encouraged by the Governments in India to regard as his warmest friends and protectors. The public language of the Earl of Mornington and of his colleagues in the Supreme Council, in praise of General Harris's conduct, I have already quoted, and also his Lordship's private letters to the Minis-

ters, urging upon them the indispensable justice of raising him to the British peerage. In accordance with these flattering expressions was the language of the Government of Madras, over which Lord Clive then presided, with honour to himself, and great benefit to that "country which he loved as his own*."

Lord Clive and his Council thus addressed the Court of Directors.

"On the occasion of the departure of the Commander, we feel it difficult to restrain the expression of those sentiments of gratitude and admiration, to which the brilliant and important successes of the British arms under his Excellency's auspices must give rise, but Lieutenant-General Harris is about to present himself to his country on a wider sphere, where the fame of his achievements will have been proclaimed by the voice of public gratitude, and the consideration of local circumstances cannot increase the glory of the conquest of Mysore."

And what was the return made to these recommendations by the Government at home? Neither the British peerage nor the riband of the Bath was conferred upon him. They seem to have determined to verify the truth of that maxim, which proceeded from one who

* I here use the words of that noble Lord, which came warm from his heart, in the letter, of which I annex a copy in the Appendix.

knew the human heart well, when he left as his warning voice to posterity the well-known adage, *Proprium humani ingenii est odiisse quem læseris;* in this spirit they endeavoured to deprive him, whom they had unjustly neglected, of the prize-money he had honourably obtained. They supported a suit in the Court of Chancery against his property, and no one knows better than myself all the anxieties which he suffered during those years of persecution. Though half his fortune was in peril, his spirit was too noble to listen to any compromise of those principles which had governed his conduct at the head of the army in Mysore.

This was the price at which the honours he had so well earned, together with future peace, were tendered to him, but he spurned the offer, and firmly resolved to maintain his principles and his property. The authority and the earning of the King's and the Company's law officers, with the ample means of the East India Company, were all arrayed against his reputation and interests.

But General Harris determined never tamely to surrender either. He addressed to the Indian authorities, a remonstrance, of which I shall give the conclusion in the Appendix with particular satisfaction, because I have found it amongst his papers just as it was written by myself thirty-four years ago, under the indignant feelings which my

knowledge of the injurious treatment he was receiving excited in my mind, and with grateful pleasure I recall, at this distant period, the affectionate expressions with which he adopted it.

But this remonstrance produced no effect upon minds already prejudiced and predetermined. It was not until General Harris had suffered six years of litigation and slander, that the dawn of better days first shone from the upright mind of Mr. Perceval. Having been misled by the grossest misrepresentations, he cheerfully corrected his opinion, and did justice to the unspotted character of General Harris, when he saw what falsehood and calumny had been heaped upon him. But this merited rebuke did not stay the march of his persecutors. They proceeded with their appeal in the Court of Chancery, and when it was dismissed from that court, they intruded it upon the Privy Council; where, after a solemn hearing, the General's honourable character was vindicated, and his property confirmed.

CHAPTER XXVII.

General Harris is created a Peer by the Prince Regent, by the title of Baron Harris, of Belmont, and of Seringapatam and Mysore, in the East Indies—His feelings upon that event—Brief reference to his manner of life subsequent thereto—His death, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, at Belmont, in Kent.

ALTHOUGH the Privy Council justly secured to General Harris, in full right, all that he had received of the prize-money of Seringapatam, yet it was impossible for him, and those who reverenced and loved him, not to feel that the continued withholding of every mark of approbation and honour for his services by the Crown, gave apparent substance to the slanders of his persecutors.

This continued state of neglect was, however, borne by General Harris with great composure, until it was brought too keenly to his feelings when he sat as a senior member of a court-martial, at Winchester, close to the President, but with nearly the whole of the remaining junior members decorated with stars and ribands, which they had well deserved by their meritorious services.

Upon that occasion I received from him a

letter, strongly expressing his mortified feelings in finding himself alone without any mark of royal favour, and I immediately answered it by urgently advising him, as I had often done before, though ineffectually, to address a public memorial to the Duke of York and to the Earl of Liverpool upon this subject, and I drew up the draft of such memorial for his consideration.

The following was the answer I received from him.

"*Winchester, January*, 1815.

"Your almost too kind letter deserves, and has my warm acknowledgements, and you may depend that I will not this time flinch, as it must be the last.

"Political duplicity is proverbial, and ——— s name in that respect stands high, and no doubt he behaved shabbily to me from starting.

"He even shirked presenting me to the King upon my return from India, and left me to announce myself to the lord in waiting. Thank God for good spirits and a good conscience, they never yet have spoilt my sleep.

"I am not afraid of any investigation of my military career, though bitter, even as that of the prize-cause.

"But I now want no command, and have asked for no emolument. But I cannot say that the late honours going by me have not made me

sore. I am conscious I do not deserve it, and in my opinion, the Government that suffers a soldier of fortune, who has been so distinguished by Providence, to go to the grave unnoticed, is culpable to their country.

"You, my dear Stephen, load me too much; but no doubt the time is come. I ought to ask my right of notice by my Prince, and I am ready to tell his Minister anything you may advise.

"Unlike a gentleman I feel I cannot do it; but I can do it strongly and steadily, if required.

I am ashamed of plaguing you with this long rigmarole, but it shows I am in earnest.

"Send me the memorials fair, and I will sign and forward them. I actually have not time to write and eat.

GEORGE HARRIS."

The memorials were accordingly sent, signed, and forwarded to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, who, to use the language of Sir Walter Scott, "was a breakwater behind the throne, while he occupied the station of next in succession; whose virtues were honour, good sense, and integrity; who, by the exertion of these qualities, raised the British army from a very low ebb, to be the pride and dread of Europe."

His Royal Highness was pleased to assure General Harris, that it would afford him the

greatest satisfaction to give any aid within his power in rewarding his distinguished services with the British peerage.

The upright prime minister of that day, Lord Liverpool, to whom another copy was forwarded, expressed himself to the same effect, and in June, 1815, General Harris received from the gracious hand of the Prince Regent, that honour which had been withheld from him for more than sixteen years.

He was raised to the peerage by the style and title of Lord Harris, of Belmont, in Kent, and of Seringapatam and Mysore, in the East Indies, and appropriately took as his motto,

My Prince and my Country.

The Latin motto which I have selected as most descriptive of Lord Harris's character is on the title-page, and I shall now offer to my fair readers a translation of it, persuading myself that all those who knew him will sanction the propriety of its application.

"It would be derogatory to the character of such a man, to speak of his integrity and forbearance. The renown which even good men are oftentimes disposed to covet, he would not purchase by the parade of virtue or the meanness of artifice. Envy of his colleagues and contention with his subordinate officers were alike foreign to his nature. Victory over the one he deemed no honour, defeat from the other disreputable."

This is the substance of that affectionate delineation with which Tacitus pourtrayed the moral features of his father-in-law, and though I know that it wants the beauty and eloquence of the original, I do not yield to him in the warmth of attachment by which he was animated.

The gratification which General Harris derived from his elevation to the peerage, was founded in no feeling of personal vanity. He had been taught by others, most competent judges, to regard this honour as the just reward of his public services, and, therefore, the fair inheritance of his children. Although the attainment of this dignity made a change in his manner of life, it was the reverse of what would generally have been expected. His frugal care of the means with which Providence had been pleased to bless his honest endeavours, had up to this time never been remitted; but he now regarded his fortune as less at his own disposal for any personal enjoyment, and more strictly the right of his children. He saw that the rank he had been the means of giving them, would create new claims upon them when they were no longer sheltered under their father's roof, and the whole course of his subsequent conduct was influenced by this consideration.

It required, however, no sacrifice on his part to continue in this course to the end of his life, for privacy in the bosom of his family had been

always the first desire of his heart. That bitterness which is too often found in the fullest cup of human happiness was, however, largely mixed in his during his latter years. Lady Harris, whose innate tenderness of heart, unassuming worth, and sincere piety, had endeared her to him and every member of her family, was doomed to suffer much illness, originating in her residence in the East and West Indies. This, with the loss of one of his sons in America, and another in India, made a deep impression on his affections, and contributed gradually to wean him from the things of this life, and to fix his thoughts more intensely on those of a better. The death of his son, Captain Charles Harris, who was aide-de-camp to General Thornton, and an officer of the highest promise, and killed in the expedition against New Orleans, afflicted him deeply. His sense of this affliction is touchingly recorded on the monument raised to his memory in Throwley church. It brought back most forcibly to his remembrance the like sorrowful circumstances attendant upon the loss of his brother at the battle of the Vigie, and to the latest hour of his life a flood of tears would roll down his venerable cheek when he described their characters and virtues, and with what grief he had seen

> . . . Above their glowing morn
> The grave's deep shadow drawn.

In the services of his eldest son (Lord Harris)

he felt a just and grateful pride. Besides having been his companion in arms in Mysore and actively engaged in the assault upon Seringapatam, he was afterwards employed at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope by Sir David Baird, at Copenhagen, in Germany, in Canada, and crowned the active part of his military career in the command of the 73rd Regiment at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. In an account which I recently met with in French, I find this notice of the deeds of the 73rd on that day of glory: "La 13me Division du Général Comte d'Alten étant fort exposée par sa position eut à repousser des charges innombrables. Qu'il suffise de citer pour exemple que le carré un peu avancé des 30me et 73me Regimens Anglais fut chargé onze fois sans le moindre succès par les lanciers de la Garde, et les cuirassiers. Que l'on juge par la de l'acharnement d'un combat, qui après trois heures d'efforts inouies n'eut pour résultat qu'un horrible carnage!"

Though Colonel Harris escaped unhurt whilst repelling these charges upon his regiment by the French lancers and cuirassiers, yet, when the moment came for the illustrious Wellington to order the troops to advance, what remained of the 73rd Regiment sprang forward with their Colonel at their head, and, whilst in the act of waving his sword and cheering on his men to the last struggle, he received a ball in the right shoulder, which penetrated to his back; but as

he fell he was gratified by the shout of victory from his comrades. The loss in this single regiment was immense, and exceeded the total number of the killed and wounded in the assault of Seringapatam.

The greatest gratification which Lord Harris received in his latter years (independently of that which is inseparable from the remembrance of a well-spent life,) arose from the uniform kindness and condescension with which he was treated by his Sovereign and his august brother the Duke of York, and those immediately about them. Colonel Macmahon, an old and attached friend of Lord Moira, always regarded that noble Lord's captain at Bunker's Hill as well entitled to his kindest offices; and in like manner Lord Bloomfield, Sir Herbert Taylor, and Sir William Knighton, did everything in their power to soothe the wounded feelings inseparable from the long and unjust neglect of Lord Harris's services.

The letters which they respectively wrote when his Majesty George the Fourth determined, at different periods, that a British Peerage, the Grand Cross of the Bath*, and the government of Dumbarton Castle should be conferred upon Lord Harris, are examples of the warm and friendly interest which they felt in any act intended to gratify him.

The government of Dumbarton Castle was the

* See letter from Lord Bloomfield in the Appendix.

last act of grace and favour which he received from the Crown, and it filled up all his desires of personal honour for himself, as was well expressed in a letter to Sir Herbert Taylor, characteristic of his frank, cheerful, and grateful heart. Few men, indeed, have lived, upon whom the unjust neglect, the slander, and the persecution he suffered upon his last return from India, would have had a less hurtful effect. The cardinal rule of his actions, at every period of his life, was founded upon the noblest principle of Christianity, "to do as he would be done by," and this made him fearless of what might happen to himself. It might be truly said of him, from his earliest to his latest years, that he never was afraid of death, but always ready to meet it. This was strongly manifested in the cool collected courage which he exhibited when called upon, in his seventeenth year, to stand the fire of his commanding officer's pistol twice without returning it*; in the whole of his conduct throughout the varied dangers of his maturer life, and in the singular directions which he left, at different periods, for his funeral. Indeed, he not only never sought to avoid the consideration of this event, awful to all mankind, but constantly habituated himself to meditate, and to speak upon it.

But this disposition excited in him no gloomy fears, or unsocial feelings. Long after he had

* See page 29 of this Memoir.

passed man's age, and lived in dignified retirement at Belmont, his company was sought by the youngest members of his family and friends as the most animating and cheerful treat they could enjoy.

By his neighbours and tenantry, rich and poor, he was beloved and respected for his kind heart, clear understanding, and simple manners. That frankness of intercourse which was the result of these qualities, was quite in the spirit of Addison's portrait of the old English country gentleman, in the person of Sir Roger de Coverley, and produced the same effects: "the young women professed love to him, and the young men were glad of his company. When he came into a house, he called the servants by their names, and talked all the way up stairs to a visit." Nor did the resemblance to the good old knight stop here. His easy manners put all pomp and pageantry out of countenance in his presence; and though a high-hearted nobleman doing honour to the peerage and to his country by his personal virtues and public services, he was as unaffected as the simplest peasant.

His feelings were, however, deeply excited when he thought the honour, happiness, or interests of the different members of his family were involved, and he left nothing that it was in his power to do, undone, to promote their permanent prosperity.

In the ópening characters of his grand-

children he felt the liveliest interest, and his affection was deeply and gratefully returned by them. By none more than by him whose rising talents and virtues attracted the approving notice of Bishop Heber, but whose thread of life was severed in the same distant land in the midst of an honourable career of earthly usefulness. I cannot deny myself the mournful gratification of extending the knowledge of departed excellence by adding to this volume that record*, which so well describes the public sense of his loss, on a monument raised by the munificence of his countrymen in St. George's Church at Madras. The epitaph was written by the late Venerable Archdeacon of Madras, the Reverend Thomas Robinson, the devoted, and highly gifted friend of the pious and accomplished Heber.

Nor can I in justice and gratitude to Lord Harris omit to observe, that on no occasion was his solicitude for the welfare of those connected with him more affectionately shown towards the close of his eventful life, than on the appointment of his son-in-law, the compiler of this Memoir, to the government of Madras, and the good counsel and the assistance which he rendered greatly contributed to its success.

To express the feelings with which I parted from him, in his eighty-second year, with very little hope of ever seeing him again, is beyond my

* See Appendix.

power. His death took place in the second year after I left England, but I had the gratification of knowing that the same sincere and cheerful piety, the same manly fortitude he had exhibited throughout the changing scenes which he had passed through, continued up to the moment when it pleased the Almighty to call him from his labours. He received the Sacrament with all of his children who were present, under circumstances of the deepest interest, affectionately bade them farewell, and resigned his spirit into the hands of his Maker, in full confidence of the atoning merits of his Saviour.

It was my fortune not to return until some years after his death; but one of the earliest gratifications of that return was to assist in raising a monument to his memory in Throwley church, and in doing that justice to his private virtues and public services which the epitaph* upon his monument records.

The only gratification that is wanted, in the compilation of this Memoir, is that he could know with what sincere affection it has been undertaken, and what feelings have been awakened, as the papers examined† have revived the memory of some act of generous kindness and confiding affection intended, or done, by him, to me and to my family.

S. R. LUSHINGTON.

* See Appendix. † See some of them in the Appendix.

20th November, 1839.

SINCE this Memoir was written, I have read that part of Mr. ALISON'S *History*, which contains a summary account of Lord Wellesley's administration in India, and therein an abstract of Lord Harris's campaign in Mysore. I regret to observe that Mr. Alison has adopted, as authentic information, the errors of Mr. Hook, in his *Life of Sir David Baird*, and has founded upon them some comments of his own, which directly impeach the justice and impartiality of the Commander-in-Chief in that campaign, and of the Governor-General, and indirectly assail the honour of the Duke of Wellington, in assuming that he had ever assented to become the object of private favour, and the instrument of individual injustice, by accepting an appointment which properly belonged to another officer.

This conclusion is contrary to the whole course of Mr. Alison's just eulogium upon the Marquis Wellesley and his illustrious brother, and is expressly declared by him "to be one of the few blots on Lord Wellesley's administration in India." It will, therefore, I hope, be a gratification to Mr. Alison to learn, from the original documents contained in this Memoir, that neither the Commander-in-Chief, nor the Governor-General, did anything in the appointment of Colonel

Wellesley to the command of Seringapatam, but what their duty to their country required of them, and that "the blot" is in Mr. Hook's unfounded narrative, which Mr. Alison will no doubt take the earliest opportunity of discarding from his History.

Indeed, the greatest part of Mr. Alison's short account of the campaign in Mysore, requires so much revision, that he appears not to have had an opportunity of examining correct authorities upon this subject. The very first hostile operation of the campaign is inaccurately related, in his account of Tippoo's attack upon the Native battalions, under Colonel John Montrésor, at Sedaseer. He says, "The Sultaun's force, on this occasion, amounted to 12,000, the flower of his army; but though the weight of the combat fell on 2000 European and Sepoy troops, they were defeated in half an hour, and quickly retired to the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, with the loss of fifteen hundred men killed and wounded*."

The detail of this affair is shown in pages 267—272 of this Memoir, where it will be seen, upon the authority of General Stuart's despatch, and the Rajah of Coorg's letter, who was an eye-witness, and sharer in the scene, that the contest with Tippoo's troops lasted for many hours; that the British detachment was in the greatest peril, and saved only from falling a sacrifice to

* See ALISON'S *History of Europe*, vol. vii. p. 124.

the persevering efforts of the flower of Tippoo's army, by the skill of their commander and the courage of the men*. The Sultaun's attack upon Colonel Montrésor began between nine and ten in the morning, and he did not retreat till twenty minutes past three; and when "General Stuart arrived at Colonel Montrésor's post, he found his men exhausted with fatigue, and their ammunition almost expended†." That such should have been their state, will excite no surprise, when the vast disparity of numbers is considered. Tippoo, with 12,000 men, the flower of his army; Colonel Montrésor, with only three battalions of Sepoys, and the artillery of his brigade, altogether not 2000 men. The contest had continued for six hours, when General Stuart arrived with the 77th Regiment, and two flank companies of the 75th, and drove off a part of the enemy, who had possessed themselves of the great road leading to Sedaseer. The engagement with them lasted nearly half an hour, when they fled with precipitation through the jungles, to regain their column, which still continued the attack in front. "It was not till twenty minutes past three that the enemy retreated in all directions‡."

See BEATSON'S *History of the War*, p. 72; MILL'S *History of British India*, vol. iii. p. 428; GLEGG'S *History*, p. 156; WILKS'S *History*.

† See General Stuart's Letter, *Wellesley Despatches*, p. 487.

‡ Ibid.

But Tippoo did not retire quickly to the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. He continued in the neighbourhood of the Bombay Army for five days, in the hope of another opportunity of attacking a portion of them; and this induced General Stuart to withdraw the brigade from Sedaseer, and concentrate the whole of his force at Seedapore. It might as well be said that the battle of Waterloo lasted but half an hour, because the *last* charge of our victorious troops on that glorious day did not occupy much more than this space of time.

The next inaccuracy in Mr. Alison's account of the campaign, is in his description of the battle of Mallavelly. He says, "Colonel Wellesley commanded the division on the left, and General Floyd the centre. Owing to the exhausted state of the bullocks which drew the artillery, a delay occurred in the formation of the line, of which the Mysore horse took advantage to make a daring charge on Colonel Wellesley's division, which moved on to the attack, and was considerably in advance, and separated by a wide gap from the centre. A huge mass of cavalry, supported by the bravest of Tippoo's turbaned infantry, bore down on the English division, and filled the opening; but the 33rd were ordered to reserve their fire till within pistol-shot, when they delivered it with decisive effect, and immediately charged with the bayonet, while the red-plumed dragoons of Floyd soon after coming up from the centre, charged

them on the other flank, and completed the rout. Two thousand of the enemy fell in the battle, or the pursuit, while the loss of the victors did not exceed three hundred."

The whole of this statement is erroneous. General Floyd commanded the cavalry, not the centre. The Mysore horse did not attack Colonel Wellesley's division at all. They attacked the right wing, under the personal command of General Harris, and were so completely repulsed that Tippoo retired with his artillery and cavalry. It was the Kurreem Cutchery of infantry who attacked the 33rd Regiment under Colonel Wellesley. They were signally repulsed, when General Floyd charged them with the cavalry, and completed their destruction. The British loss was not three hundred, but sixty-six.—See Gen. Harris's Official Report. These were the only affairs which our troops had with the Sultaun's army in the field.

Mr. Alison's description of the first operations of the siege is of the same character. He says, "The camp was formed opposite to the south-western side of the fortress. The army from Bombay effected its junction on the 9th. The approaches were conducted with great vigour. In the course of these operations, much annoyance was experienced from an advanced post of the Sultaun's, placed on a rocky eminence, near the walls, from whence a destructive fire, chiefly with rockets, was kept up on the parties working

in the trenches. In order to put a stop to this harassing warfare, an attack on the post during the night was resolved on, and intrusted to Colonel Wellesley and Colonel Shawe. This nocturnal encounter would be of little importance, were it not rendered remarkable by a circumstance as rare as it is memorable, and worthy of being recorded for the encouragement of young officers exposed to early disaster—a failure by Wellington!

"Colonel Wellesley, on entering the rocky eminence near the Sultaunpettah Tope, was assailed on all sides with so severe a fire, that both the 33rd Regiment and Sepoy battalion *, which he commanded, were thrown into disorder, and he was obliged to fall back to the camp; and such was the confusion which prevailed, owing to the darkness of the night, that he arrived there accompanied only by Colonel Mackenzie. The young officer proceeded at midnight to the General's tent, at first much agitated, but finding General Harris not yet awake, he threw himself on the table of the tent, and *fell asleep*—a fact, in such a moment, singularly characteristic of the imperturbable character of the future hero of Torres Vedras."

This is a misstatement both of facts and dates. The Bombay Army did not join till the 14th of April. The Madras Army arrived before Sering-

* Colonel Wellesley had no Sepoy battalion with him.

apatam on the 5th of April, and on the same night General Harris ordered the attacks to be made by Colonel Shawe and Colonel Wellesley, not on a rocky eminence near the walls, but on the Sultaun-pettah Tope, and the bank of the water-course, nearly three miles from the Fort. No annoyance had been sustained from Tippoo's troops, nor had we any trenches for many days afterwards. The nature of Colonel Wellesley's failure has been already fully described (pp. 289—307), and it has been shown that he made his report at twelve o'clock at night to the Commander-in-Chief, who was anxiously waiting to receive it. What is therefore stated of General Harris "not being yet awake" at *midnight*, and of Colonel Wellesley's throwing himself on the table and falling fast asleep, before he had made his report to General Harris as a "fact singularly characteristic of the imperturbable character of the future hero of Torres Vedras," is mere fable. Mr. Alison goes on to state, "General Harris next morning drew out the troops for a second attack, and offered the command to General Baird, but that generous officer suggested that Colonel Wellesley should be again intrusted with the command. But for the elevation of mind which prompted both General Harris and General Baird to overlook this casual failure, and intrust the next attack to the defeated officer, the fate of the world might have been different, and the star of the future conqueror of

Napoleon extinguished in an obscure nocturnal encounter in an Indian water-course."

General Baird's evidence upon this subject, given only the year before he died, proves that this story is not true. That he suggested *nothing* to General Harris respecting Colonel Wellesley, and that there was nothing calling for the display of any elevation of mind either from General Harris or General Baird, however natural it would have been for both to have shown this character in its highest degree, if any occasion had required it. The only thing which called for the Commander-in-Chief's indulgence on the morning of the 6th of April, was the blunder in the Adjutant-General's office, in not duly advising Colonel Wellesley of the time when he was to be on the parade, to command the second attack on the Sultaunpettah Tope.

Mr. Alison thinks, however, that this tale of General Baird's "elevation of mind," as stated in Mr. Hook's memoirs, is true, notwithstanding (as he observes), some doubt is thrown upon it in GURWOOD's *Despatches of Wellington*. "For the honour of human nature," he says, "he is happy to give it an entire confirmation, having repeatedly heard the anecdote from a most gallant officer, Colonel Gerrard, the author's lamented brother-in-law, to whose talents and virtues, durably recorded in the exploits of that band of heroes who contributed to the glories of Delhi and

Lasswarree, he has a melancholy pleasure in bearing his public testimony." In that testimony to Colonel Gerrard, I desire humbly to join; but as I have proved, by the evidence of Sir David Baird himself, that the story had no foundation in truth, there can be no other just inference than that Colonel Gerrard heard the tale as it was current in camp, and believing it (although untrue), related it to Mr. Alison.

"Such is history!" as the old King of Prussia said when two persons, said to be eye-witnesses of the same fact, gave opposite accounts of it. But in this case, we have the concurring evidence of the three distinguished personages who were the dramatis personæ: Sir David Baird, who positively denied the truth of the story; the letters of Colonel Wellesley on that and the following day, when it is said to have happened, taking no notice of it, and General Harris's minute daily Journal, in which there is not the slightest allusion to this tale, and of which Colonel Wellesley never even heard till many years afterwards. That such a tale was circulated, I have, however, no doubt; for I remember to have heard it from an officer of great gallantry and good conduct, like Colonel Gerrard, when I was in the Poligar countries in 1800, accompanied by an addition, delivered in a solemn whisper, that Colonel Wellesley was frightened, and ran away to the Commander-in-Chief's tent, on the night of the 5th, and therefore General

Harris had ordered General Baird to take the command on the morning of the 14th, which General Baird declined from personal consideration for Colonel Wellesley!!!

Mr. Alison goes on to state that "several formidable sallies of the Mysore horse were repulsed by the steadiness of the besiegers' infantry." This is also entirely erroneous: there were no sallies of horse against the infantry of the besiegers; and a moment's reflection will point out the mistake. Who ever heard of horse being employed to attack infantry in trenches?

The two attacks which were really made by Tippoo were directed against the Bombay troops (where Colonel Wellesley was not), and they were made by Tippoo's Native infantry, and subsequently by the Frenchmen in his service, of whom several were killed in General Stuart's lines.

The account given by Mr. Alison of the assault, and the state of the enemy's preparation, is also very erroneous. He says, "The enemy were at their post, all was ready for the assault; every battery was manned, and from every bastion a gun, which bore on the assailants a close and deadly fire, was directed, which speedily thinned their ranks, and would have caused any other troops to recoil. On, however, the British rushed, followed by their brave allies, through the deadly storm; in five minutes the river was crossed, in five more the breach was mounted. A crimson

torrent streamed over the ruin. A sally on the flank of the assaulting column by a chosen body of Tippoo's guards was repulsed. The brave Asiatics were by degrees forced back, though not without desperate resistance, to the Palace, where a dreadful slaughter took place*."

I have shown, in my account of the storm, that Tippoo was, happily, taken by surprise. He could not be brought to believe that the assault was to be made on the 4th of May. He was eating his dinner when our troops were mounting the breach, and he was not roused to make any serious exertion until he heard that his principal officer, Seyid Goffhâr, had been killed by a cannon shot near the breach. "Seyid Goffhâr," he then observed, "never was afraid of death; let Mahomed Cassim take his division." He ordered his carbines to be loaded, and his horse to be brought, which he mounted, and proceeded towards the breach; but it was too late, our troops were on the ramparts, and driving the weak and fugitive defenders before them. The time which elapsed before the British colours floated in triumph on the breach was only six minutes from the moment of our troops stepping out of the trenches†. Our loss was trifling compared with what it was reasonable to expect‡. As to the

* See ALISON'S *History of Europe*, vol. vii. p. 130.
† See BEATSON'S *History*, p. 127; HOOK'S *Life of Baird*, p. 207.
‡ See the detail in the Appendix.

"sally on the flank of the assaulting column by a chosen body of Tippoo's guards," and "a crimson torrent streaming over the ruin;" it was so represented in Porter's picture, and in the theatrical exhibition of the assault at Sadler's Wells in 1799; but both of these representations were got up with the usual licence of painters and poets.

> Painters and poets our indulgence claim,
> Their daring equal, and their art the same.

Historians have another duty to perform; and for the honour of human nature, I am glad to point out to Mr. Alison the error into which he has fallen in his History when he speaks of a dreadful slaughter in Tippoo's palace by the British troops. Mr. Alison must have forgot, or never read, Lord Mornington's letter to the Court of Directors of the 12th May, 1799, in which he observes, "I am persuaded that your Honourable Court will derive peculiar satisfaction from the intelligence that the Sultaun's family and palace suffered no insult or violence during the heat of the assault; and has since been protected with the utmost care;" nor could Mr. Alison have read Sir Alexander Allan's simple and unassuming statement of the generous means which he adopted, with General Baird's sanction, to prevent any slaughter in the Palace, and which so entirely succeeded, that not one drop of blood was shed there.

There is another mistake adopted by Mr. Alison, and which also implies a want of humane feeling on the part of Tippoo's conquerors. He says,

"His corpse was found under a mountain of slain stripped of all its ornaments and clothing." The account given by Sir A. Allan, who assisted in bringing the body of Tippoo from under the gateway, proves that no indignity had been offered to his person. "His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, with a crimson cloth of silk and cotton round his waist; a handsome pouch, with a red and green silk belt, hung across his shoulder. His head was uncovered, his turban being lost in the confusion of his fall." The body was immediately put into a palankeen, and conveyed under a guard of honour to the Palace, and was interred the next day with as much pomp and respectful ceremony as the British army could have displayed even to their own Sovereign.

The preparations for the funeral were superintended by the Cauzee of Seringapatam; every article was provided according to his directions; and when the body reached the gate of Hyder's magnificent mausoleum, the British Grenadiers formed a street and presented arms as it passed. Both officers and men forgot in this moment what he had been to them when alive; they no longer remembered what British prisoners had experienced from him; and his family and officers were afterwards treated with the utmost humanity and generosity by the Governor-General.

I have since visited the place of his interment,

when more than thirty years had elapsed from the time of his funeral, and it was gratifying to see with what care the mausoleum which contains the mortal remains of Hyder Ally, Tippoo Sultaun, and his mother, and the surrounding religious edifices, have been regarded by succeeding British authorities. The good feeling which has suggested this reverential consideration, is part of that strength by which we have obtained and kept our empire in that country, and I trust that we shall never be deluded by the perilous zeal of those who are unacquainted with the prejudices of our Eastern subjects to depart from this enlightened course. In its first effects, and in its lasting consequences, this forbearance from insult to those who differ in their religious feelings from us, forms a noble contrast both in policy and in humanity to those who have preceded us as conquerors in India, and the contrast has been with none greater than between the Mahommedan and English rulers. Indeed, in close vicinity to the mausoleum which we have protected with such care, I saw a ferocious representation of Tippoo's savage disposition towards his British prisoners. They were painted in the attitude of supplication, with tigers in the act of destroying them, and the colours still remained fresh upon the walls. I could not then comprehend how it had happened that the picture should have continued for so many years unhurt by time and

weather; but I have since learnt that it was retouched by Wellington's special orders whilst he was in authority, and those who succeeded him there have continued this memorial of Tippoo's cruelty, and our forbearance.

Having thus noticed some of the errors in Mr. Alison's account of the campaign in Mysore, I shall now revert to the more serious charge which he has preferred, chiefly upon the authority of Mr. Hook's book, against Lord Harris and the Marquis Wellesley, in respect to the appointment of Colonel Wellesley to command in Seringapatam, after it became expedient to have a permanent commandant there.

Mr. Alison observes*, "Colonel Wellesley was not engaged in the storm, but he commanded the reserve, which did not require to be called into action, and viewed merely with impatient regret the heart-stirring scene. He was next day, however, appointed Governor of the town by General Harris, which appointment was confirmed by Lord Wellesley, and constitutes one of the few blots in his administration. History, indeed, apart from biographical discussion, has little cause to lament an appointment which early called into active service the great civil as well as military qualities of the Duke of Wellington. But individual injustice is not always to be excused by the merits of the preferred functionary, and

* Vol. vii. p. 133.

unquestionably the hero of Seringapatam, the gallant officer who led the assault, was entitled to a very different fate from that of being superseded in the command, almost before the sweat was wiped from the brow which he had adorned with the laurels of victory."

If any fault can be found for the rapidity with which General Baird was relieved after the duties of the assault were over, he is alone to be blamed. It was his own particular request to the Commander-in-Chief that he might be relieved that night, and the message was sent to General Harris through Major Beatson*, literally before the sweat was wiped from General Baird's victorious brow. Nor was the request unnatural. General Baird and his brave companions had borne the heat and burden of that day, and it was fair, both in him and them, to wish that the painful duties of burying the dead, relieving the wounded, executing plunderers, and restoring order, should be performed by other hands. But General Harris did not deem it expedient that they should be relieved that very night, for the reasons given in page 419 of this Memoir. The course he pursued was in the ordinary routine of military duty, and without the slightest reference to the civil qualities of the officer who should relieve General Baird. It has been already shown in this Memoir, that when General Harris received the

* See General Baird's Letter, 6th May, 1799, p. 413.

application of General Baird to be relieved, the Deputy Adjutant-General, Major Turing, was in attendance at his tent, and was immediately desired by the Commander-in-Chief to inform him who was next for duty. "Colonel Roberts," said Major Turing; "Then put him in orders to go," replied General Harris. Presently afterwards Major Turing, looking more attentively over the Order-Book, said, "No, Sir, I have made a mistake; Colonel Wellesley is the next for duty, not Colonel Roberts." "Then let Colonel Wellesley be put in orders for the relief," was the General's reply.

Colonel Wellesley accordingly went into the Fort early the next morning, and relieved General Baird after he had been refreshed by a night's rest, as he states in his own letter* of the following day; and Colonel Wellesley fully expected to be himself relieved by some other officer in the regular course of the camp duties, as expressed in his letter to General Harris†, to which I have already directed the attention of the reader.

The rapid submission of Tippoo's sons, chiefs, and subjects in the two days succeeding the assault, entirely changed the character and nature of the duties to be performed by the Commandant of Seringapatam. Important civil functions, as well as military duties, necessarily devolved upon

* See General Baird's Letter, 6th May, 1799, p. 413.

† See Colonel Wellesley's Letter, 6th May, 1799, p. 422.

him, and then General Harris was required to consider who was best fitted for their successful discharge. After due consideration he resolved that Colonel Wellesley should be the permanent Commandant; and this selection was made not only in preference to Major-General Baird, but in preference to three other General Officers, senior to Major-General Baird, as well as to Colonel Wellesley, all of whom would have been proud of the appointment, and might fairly have claimed it, if seniority, bravery, and distinguished military services had been the only proper considerations in the selection of a fit person to fill this appointment.

But when a kingdom had fallen, and a kingdom was to be restored, it was the duty of the Commander-in-Chief, in the absence of the Governor-General, to exercise, to the best of his judgment, the great powers confided to him. He was bound to select, from his army, the person he should deem best fitted to discharge all the great civil as well as military functions which would devolve upon him. His choice fell upon Colonel Wellesley. To justify this choice, by entering into a comparison of the relative qualifications of Colonel Wellesley, and any of the officers senior to him, for such a trust, would be an invidious and idle waste of time. But I cannot avoid observing, that General Harris would have compromised his public duty, if he had preferred General

Baird for such a service to Colonel Wellesley; for, as Commander-in-Chief at Madras, he had been one of the Council that supported the Earl of Buckinghamshire in the discharge of a painful duty, by removing Colonel Baird from the command of Tanjore, because he had been deluded by his Dubash, and other intriguing money-lenders, to interpose his opinions and influence in the civil affairs of the government of that province, for the purpose of prolonging Amer Sing's usurpation of the rights of Serfogee, the prince entitled, by the Hindoo law, to fill the throne of Tanjore.

But this just mark of General Harris's disapprobation of such improper interference did not prejudice his view of Colonel Baird's military merits. To these he did full justice in the General Orders, published after Colonel Baird's removal from Tanjore, "proclaiming to the Army the favourable opinion he had formed of the Colonel, whilst in command of the 77th Regiment, so eminently distinguished by a series of long, spirited, and arduous services, honourable to themselves and advantageous to their country."

These were the parting words of General Harris, then Commander-in-Chief at Madras, to Colonel Baird, in October, 1797, and when the Colonel returned from the Cape of Good Hope to Madras, in January, 1799, having been promoted to the rank of Major-General, and appointed to the Staff of India, he was received by the Com-

mander-in-Chief, at Vellore, with the same kindness and confidence in his military merits. It was from this knowledge of his character that General Harris employed him in the very first operation of the siege against the Sultaunpettah Tope; and afterwards selected him for the distinguished command of leading the assault on the 4th of May. Whatever might have been the perils of this service, there perhaps never lived a man better qualified to execute it; and he received the warmest thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, and was recommended by him to the Governor-General as entitled to the notice of his King and country, "for the decided and able manner in which he conducted it." It was with painful reluctance that General Harris subsequently felt the necessity of censuring him for that total want of discretion and respect which he exhibited in his letters of the 6th and 9th of May, 1799; but a fault acknowledged by such an officer as General Baird was sure of forgiveness from the kind heart of General Harris; and that just admonition which had been unwillingly forced from him, would have been buried for ever in oblivion, as General Baird earnestly desired, and General Harris fully intended, if the misguided zeal of Mr. Hook had not given it publicity in his book. With Mr. Hook, therefore, and his employers, the responsibility for this must rest.

For myself, it is not without painful reluctance

that I recur to it; but Mr. Hook's unfounded strictures, and Mr. Alison's adoption of them, leave me no choice. It is, however, gratifying to me to express my cordial concurrence in the justness of the character which General Middlemore has given of Sir D. Baird. "You might implicitly place your life, and honour, and happiness, in his bare word, and as he was firm and inflexible upon every point of discipline and duty, so was he incapable of injuring a human being; with the courage of a hero, his heart was kind and gentle as a woman's."

But it was of this kindness of nature that advantage was sometimes taken, by others not free from guile and intrigue like himself. Hence he was involved in errors, which produced much discomfort to this gallant officer and excellent man at different periods of his life; at Tanjore in 1797, at Mysore in 1799, and at the Cape of Good Hope in 1807.

Of these indiscretions Mr. Hook has thought fit to preserve records, with which the wiser and kinder friends of General Baird would have dealt as General Harris had done, and as Sterne did with the single transgression of his military hero—have dropt a tear upon them, and blotted them out for ever. I trust, however, that there is enough in this volume to restrain future biographers and historians from pursuing the same course, and that they will duly regard, as I have

sincerely endeavoured to do, that warning voice which wrote for their instruction in the first volume of the DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S *Despatches.*

I have quoted, in the beginning of this Memoir, a portion of this just rebuke; and I cannot conclude this documentary refutation of the unfounded imputations cast upon the honour of the Marquis Wellesley and of the Duke of Wellington, and upon the memory of Lord Harris, more appropriately, than by transcribing the whole of it.

"The great end of history is the exact illustration of events as they occurred, and there should be neither exaggeration nor concealment to suit angry feelings or personal disappointment. It should contain the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Mr. Hook has, however, in this respect, wandered from his proper province as an historian, at the expense of the reputation of his gallant hero, by attacking the judgment, justice, impartiality, and duty of the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General, for the purpose of establishing a grievance and an insinuation, which the facts and results do not warrant; and to which Sir David Baird, had he been alive, would have never given countenance. But Mr. Hook, being a civilian, could not be aware of the impropriety of publishing these letters of remonstrance, which are so inconsistent with subordination and discipline; particularly when it

is known that General Baird requested permission to withdraw his intemperate appeal, which General Harris, from personal regard, allowed to pass without further notice: and certainly, what General Baird thought unworthy of him as a soldier, his biographer had no right to bring up against him, with no other apparent purpose than that of attacking the honour of those who are living, and the memory of those who are dead*."

* WELLINGTON'S *Despatches, Note*, pp. 38 and 39.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

See page 139.

"The Earl of Mornington to Lord Clive.

"(Most private and confidential.)

"*Fort William, July* 29, 1798.

"My Lord,

"Although I have not the honour of your Lordship's personal acquaintance, I trust that my public situation, and my anxiety to discharge its duties in a satisfactory manner, will be a sufficient apology for the liberty which I take in troubling you with this letter.

"I learnt the intelligence of your Lordship's appointment to the Government of Fort St. George with very great pleasure, being convinced that the affairs of that Presidency require the vigorous control of a person of your Lordship's rank and character, and that you will have it in your power, (as I am persuaded it is your inclination,) to render essential service to the interests of the Company, and to confer considerable benefits upon the people committed to your peculiar charge.

"For the system of measures which I think it advisable to adopt in the present crisis with regard to the defence of the Carnatic, and to the restoration of our alliances, I refer your Lordship to my private correspondence with General

Harris, and to the papers accompanying my last letter to him.

"Having frequently considered the state of the Presidency of Fort St. George previously to my departure from Europe, and having had the opportunity of correcting, by personal observation, the opinions which I had formed at home, I think it my duty to lay before your Lordship, without reserve, the final result of my deliberate judgment upon a subject equally interesting to yourself and me. In pursuing the various topics connected with this subject, I shall communicate my ideas to your Lordship with the same degree of confidential freedom which I should use to my most intimate friend; being satisfied that your Lordship will not suffer communications of so secret a nature to pass beyond your own mind; and being assured that you will receive them as the most unequivocal testimony of my cordial zeal for the prosperity of your administration, and of my disposition to afford you every assistance towards the maintenance of the dignity, authority, and vigour of your government.

"The Civil Service of the Presidency of Fort St. George is unfortunately in a condition very far removed from perfection, and inferior in every respect to that of Bengal.

"The deficiency of most of the civil servants at Madras, in the departments of revenue, is to be ascribed, in a great measure, to the system so long prevalent of administering the revenues through provincial chiefs and councils, whose policy it was to confine the means of acquiring a knowledge of the nature of the collections within the most narrow channels, and who were themselves almost universally under the dominion of the native agents and servants. The whole administration of the revenue, was a scheme of mystery, calculated to embarrass inquiry, and to screen peculation from justice.

"The provision of the commercial investment upon the coast of Coromandel, has also been managed almost exclusively by native agents and contractors; and while their management shall continue, it cannot be expected that the servants of the Company will become conversant with the details of the several manufactures, or with the minute circumstances which affect the quality of the different fabrics. This defective mode of administering the revenue and commerce of the Company on the Coast, rendered the study of the languages, customs, and laws of the country, a superfluous, if not an useless labour; since a servant of the Company might reach the most arduous trusts, and might discharge them with as much credit as his predecessors had ever enjoyed, without the previous application necessary for acquiring any of those branches of knowledge. On the other hand, the ignorance of the Company's civil servants necessarily threw them into the hands of the native dubashes, whose destructive influence soon produced embarrassments, which led to the sacrifice of public trust and duty, and ultimately to the utter subversion of every principle of integrity and honour. To these causes must be added the continual operation of the intrigues of the durbars of the Nabob of Arcot and of the Rajah of Tanjore. The junior servants, I trust, under your Lordship's superintendence, may be encouraged in the study of the native languages; a knowledge of which is indispensably necessary to enable them to discharge any important public trust with advantage to their employers, or with honour to themselves. With this view I most earnestly recommend it to your Lordship to direct your most vigilant attention to the conduct of the junior writers from the earliest period of their arrival at Madras. Too many of them fall into early habits of extravagance, in which they are encouraged by the native dubashes; and I declare to your Lordship my

deliberate conviction, that this evil cannot be remedied in any other manner than by the personal exertions of the Governor himself.

" Lord Cornwallis watched over the conduct and morals of the junior servants of the Company in Bengal with the anxiety and solicitude of a parent; and the beneficial effects of his laudable care are now visible in every department of this Government. To a person of your Lordship's disposition this duty will not be irksome. Various opinions have been stated to me with respect to the salary of the writers: some persons seem to think its present amount sufficient, and that any increase would tend to extravagance; while others are of opinion that it does not afford the means of maintaining the writers in a situation of competent affluence. I confess that I was not able during my continuance at Madras to form a decided opinion upon this important question. I therefore refer it to your Lordship's judgment, being persuaded that you will concur with me in feeling that the source of many of the defects in the civil service at Madras, is to be discovered in the original condition of the writers sent out from Europe, and that from the same source must be derived any permanent system of improvement.

" I should have observed to your Lordship that I believe a proper public building for the reception of the writers upon their first arrival at Madras, would be a very desirable object; the buildings at present used for that purpose are extremely contracted, and, as I was informed, absolutely uninhabitable by any but those of the most vigorous constitutions. I would also suggest to your Lordship's consideration, whether it might not be proper to increase the salaries of the present offices of Mahratta and Persian translator, and to found offices of a similar description for the translation of the various languages in which the public business

is transacted in different parts of the country subject to your Presidency. A measure of this nature would operate as a great encouragement to the study of the native languages upon the Coast. Your Lordship will perceive by the directions which I shall speedily forward to you in council, that it is my wish to introduce in all those countries subject to your government, which are now in a state to receive such an improvement, that system of permanent settlement of revenue, connected with a speedy and regular administration of justice, from which such essential benefits have been derived in Bengal.

"I conversed very fully with all the members of the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George on this most interesting subject, in which the prosperity and happiness of the whole people committed to your particular charge is deeply concerned; and I was convinced by the information I received from those respectable gentlemen, that the system to which I have adverted might immediately be introduced into almost every part of your Lordship's government with infinite advantage, not only to the native inhabitants, but to the civil service of the Company. I am aware that, at the first institution of the courts of justice it may be very difficult, in the present state of the civil service of Fort St. George, to find a sufficient number of persons properly qualified for the several judicial offices; but, on the other hand, the institution of such offices will open new channels for the ambition, industry, and talents of your civil servants. The study of the manners, languages, customs, and laws of the natives, will then become general, and the beneficial effects of such an additional incitement to the activity of your servants will soon be widely extended, and will gradually produce a supply of persons equal to all the duties of the Company's civil service.

"Before I quit the subject of the state of the civil

service at Madras, I must beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to the revision of your civil establishments, as directed in my letter in council of this date, addressed to the President in Council of Fort St. George. Every practicable reduction of your expenses and augmentation of your revenue will be of importance in the present distressed state of the finances of the Company in India. If my information be correct, the proposed establishment of the courts of justice will not ultimately prove any additional burthen upon your finances.

"With respect to the military establishments at Fort St. George, I have the satisfaction to declare to your Lordship that I do not believe there exists in any part of the world an army more distinguished for its high state of discipline, or for the activity, gallantry, and skill of its officers, than that which will be under your immediate direction.

"In the ranks of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and those still inferior, you will find many excellent officers.

"The defects in your military establishments, which impede the power of putting any considerable portion of your army in motion at a short notice, are considered in my Letter to your Presidency of the 20th July, and in my Minute recorded in the Secret Department at Fort William, of the same date, of which I will soon transmit a copy to your Lordship.

"I most earnestly entreat your early and serious attention to the very alarming considerations which arise from the view which I have taken of this important subject. Your Lordship will receive a more full detail of my sentiments on this head from General Harris, who will communicate to you all my private correspondence relating to it. I must also take the liberty of requesting that you will allow my brother, Colonel Wellesley, (whose regiment is now under orders for Fort St. George,) to have the honour of stating

to your Lordship at large my opinions with respect to the defence of the Carnatic.

" Your Lordship will have learnt previously to your departure from Europe, that I was charged by the Court of Directors to attempt, by means of persuasion and advice, to induce his Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic to agree to the same modification of the treaty of 1792 which had been proposed to him by Lord Hobart. General Harris, and Mr. Lushington, who acted as my interpreter, will state to your Lordship the means which I employed to endeavour to accomplish the object of my commission, in which I entirely failed. I was equally unsuccessful in my endeavours to prevail upon his highness to make provision for the liquidation of any part of his debt to the Company; and I am satisfied that *any other means* would be as foreign to your Lordship's disposition as they are to mine. My fixed rule during my continuance at Madras was, to treat the Nabob with the respect due to his rank, with the kindness due to the ancient friendship between his family and the Company, and with the delicacy demanded by his dependant situation. At the same time I avoided all familiarity with him, and I animadverted very fully upon the defects of his administration, and upon the extreme impropriety of his late conduct with relation to the interests of the Company. I never allowed him to utter any invective against Lord Hobart, notwithstanding his various attempts both in public and private, to induce me to listen to a vein of abuse in which his highness is too apt to indulge himself on that subject. You will find his highness's disposition to be very far from amiable or respectable; he is insincere, mean, and timid; he is, however, said to be humane in his temper, although Lord Hobart has recorded instances which impute to him the guilt of very great cruelty. He is by no means deficient in his understanding; I have met with few men

who possess more address; his abilities, however, were always exhibited to me in the form of low cunning, artifice, and subterfuge. You will find a most virulent party formed against his highness amongst a certain description of the Company's servants, civil and military, at Madras. The persons concerned in this party preserve no bounds of moderation or of decency in their public language concerning his highness's conduct and character; and if their opinion were suffered to guide the councils of the Government of Fort St. George, there is no degree of public humiliation or disgrace to which his highness would not be subjected, and scarcely an excess of compulsion and violence which would not be attempted to extort the surrender of his country from him. I must here take the occasion of assuring your Lordship that the character of those measures is wholly inconsistent with the acknowledged temper and disposition of Lord Hobart, whom I have known with the utmost degree of intimacy for many years. I shall forward to your Lordship shortly copies of the papers which passed between me and the Nabob, together with my observations upon them. In the meanwhile I offer it as my sincere advice to your Lordship not to attempt any immediate negociation with his highness for the surrender of his country. I found his mind in a state of great irritation and alarm; and although I flatter myself that those emotions were in some degree abated by my intercourse with him, I can hardly expect that he is yet inclined to give favourable attention to any proposition for a modification of the treaty of 1792. For my own part, notwithstanding the anxiety of the Court of Directors upon the subject, I entertain very serious doubts whether the Company would gain considerably by the surrender of the mortgaged districts. This, however, is a point upon which I have not yet formed a decided opinion. I must, therefore, entreat your Lordship to turn

your attention to it, and as I am persuaded that you will consider the question without passion or prejudice, and that no virulence of party will be suffered to warp your judgment, I expect to derive considerable advantage from receiving the honour of your opinion.

"With regard to the Nabob's debt to the Company, I think the present moment of general voluntary contribution might offer a favourable opportunity for persuading his highness to pay the whole or part of the new cavalry loan; and I shall speedily forward to your Lordship a letter for his highness, suggesting the propriety of so seasonable a step in the present moment.

"I should here observe that his highness expressed great anxiety to be allowed to correspond privately with me, but I declined the proposition; and your Lordship may be assured that I will admit of no other mode of communication between his highness and me than the regular channel of your Government.

"It is very necessary that we should be prepared to decide the eventual question of the succession to the nabobship in the probable event of his highness's early death. Your Lordship will have the goodness to ascertain, with as much accuracy as possible, the respective pretensions of those who might lay claim to the musnud in such an event. Upon such information as I shall receive from you, we may be enabled to anticipate the mischiefs of a disputed succession, and to avoid the disgrace of adopting a premature decision which we might afterwards be compelled to revoke. General Harris will have communicated to you the directions of this Government with respect to the succession to the musnud of Tanjore, and you will have learnt the manner in which those directions have been executed. I shall be extremely anxious to receive the report of the commission which is to be appointed for inquiring into the real

state of Tanjore. Until that report shall be received, it will be impossible to form a permanent system for the improvement of the interests of the Rajah or of the Company in that fertile, but harassed country. I think it necessary, however, to apprize your Lordship, that such information as I have already been enabled to obtain upon this subject, leads me to hope that the most advantageous arrangement for the interests of the Company will prove to be that which would evidently most redound to their honour, and would place the character of their justice on the most substantial foundations. Your Lordship will have anticipated my idea, that the restoration of the whole country to Serfogee under an improved system of management, checked by the superintendence of the Government of Fort St. George, would produce the most beneficial permanent consequences to both parties. It was with this express view that I suggested the policy of endeavouring to persuade Serfogee to make a temporary cession of his kingdom to our management, in order that we might provide for him (during our temporary possession) not only such a permanent system of administration as should enable him hereafter to govern his people with justice and mildness, but also such funds as should admit of his making the necessary advances for the cultivation of the country, and of his securing the regular discharge of his subsidy to the Company.

"I now proceed to that part of my communication with your Lordship, which, although the most delicate and invidious, is, perhaps, the most urgently demanded by my public duty, and by the real interest which I take in the success of your Lordship's administration.

"With these sentiments I shall deliver my unreserved opinion of the character of such persons as I had an opportunity of knowing at Madras; and I must observe that although my continuance at Madras was but short, I had

very frequent opportunities of seeing all the persons of whom I shall speak to your Lordship.

"Mr. Webbe, the Secretary of the Government, appeared to me to be a man of talents and knowledge; his integrity I believe to be unblemished.

"Your Lordship will find all the members of the Board of Revenue worthy of confidence. Mr. Cockburn, however, deserves particular notice. He bears the highest reputation for integrity, talents, and knowledge of the business of the country, and I found him fully answerable to his general character. I have very seldom met with a more valuable man in any part of the world; and I take the liberty of recommending him most earnestly to your Lordship's attention, as a person upon whom you may rely for the most accurate information, and for the soundest and most honest opinions, entirely exempt from any taint of passion, prejudice, or self-interest.

"Mr. White is a very deserving and useful man; I understand that he is not likely to remain at Madras beyond the present season.

"Mr. Harrington is a gentleman of the highest character for integrity and diligence. Your Lordship will find him a very valuable public servant. His brother is the ablest officer in the court of Sudder Dewannee Adaulut in Bengal, and a person who possesses just pretensions to an eminent station in the judicial department at this Presidency.

"Mr. Lushington, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and private secretary to General Harris, although a very young man, ought to be particularly mentioned to your Lordship as possessing very considerable talents and knowledge, united to an uncommon degree of discretion and prudence, and with a peculiar propriety of manners. He has paid great attention to the study of the Persian language, in which he is a considerable proficient. He is, without

exception, the most promising young man I saw at Madras, and, as far as I could judge from continual intercourse with him during my stay there, I believe him to possess the soundest principles of integrity and honour.

"Mr. Nathaniel Kindersley's character for integrity, ability, and general knowledge is universally established. He appeared to me to stand next to Mr. Cockburn in point of consideration at Fort St. George. He has, however, lately adopted the business of agency and private trade, and therefore has relinquished, to a certain degree, the service of the Company, and has relaxed that minute attention to the details of business which you will find to be the peculiar characteristic of Mr. Cockburn.

"Colonel Close, the Adjutant-General, is a very able and intelligent man, and is perfectly conversant with the Persian language. He is reputed to be of a vehement and ardent temper, and inclined to promote measures of that character, but I saw no symptom of any such disposition in him. The reputation of his integrity is unblemished.

"Captain Malcolm, the town-major, deserves every degree of countenance and protection; he is an officer of great worth, of extremely good sense, and well acquainted with the country languages; he has turned his attention particularly to the study of the political system of India, and to the relative situations and interests of the several native powers. On this subject he is capable of furnishing your Lordship with useful information, and you will find him remarkably diligent, active, and zealous in the execution of any service with which you may entrust him. He has also the advantage of very pleasing and amiable manners.

"In this place I take the liberty of mentioning to your Lordship the name of Captain Montgomery, who commands your body-guard; he is a very worthy and intelligent man.

"Major Allan was a particular friend of Lord Hobart,

and I believe him to be an intelligent and honourable man.

"The administration of the Company's Jaghire, under Mr. Lionel Place, has been a subject of great animosity and party at Fort St. George. Your Lordship's notice will, of course, be immediately directed to it. Mr. Place (whom I did not see at Madras), as I am informed, is a man of considerable talents and of great diligence and zeal in the public service. He certainly has been engaged in a most invidious and difficult duty, in the execution of which he has encountered with great spirit and perseverance the combined influence of all the dubashes of Madras, and has succeeded in effecting a considerable augmentation of the produce of the Jaghire. On the other hand, I should apprize your Lordship, that repeated complaints were stated to me of his rigorous treatment of the renters and cultivators of the soil subject to his authority, and doubts were suggested with respect to the justice of his settlement of the land revenue.

"I had not sufficient time at Madras to enable me to enter into the investigation of the charges against Mr. Place, and my intention in what I have said upon this subject is merely to draw your Lordship's notice to it. The general impression upon my mind is, that the introduction of the Mocurrery system of land revenue would be more desirable as well as more speedily practicable in the Jaghire, than in any other part of the Company's territories on the Coast.

"Having troubled your Lordship with so much detail upon the subject of the internal Government of Fort St. George, I shall proceed to state some considerations with regard to the nature of the relation between that Government and the Governor-General in Council of Bengal. Your Lordship is, I doubt not, perfectly conversant with

the provisions of the law on this point; I shall, therefore, advert merely to the practical principles resulting from those provisions, and I am anxious to explain my sentiments to your Lordship upon this head in the earliest period of your government, not only because the greatest inconveniences have resulted to the public service from misunderstandings of the distinct practical duties of the two Governments, but because I know that a faction exists at Madras, whose constant endeavour has been, and will be, assiduously employed to foment those misunderstandings into a systematic spirit of jealousy and contention.

"All measures relating to the general defence and protection of India, to the system of our alliances, and of our negociations, or intercourse with the native powers, to the levying war or making peace, to the general administration of the revenues of all the Presidencies, to the employment of the military force, and, finally, to every point affecting the general interests, whether civil or military, or political, of the Company's possessions, form the exclusive duties arising out of the superintending power of the Governor-General in Council. For all measures of this description he alone is responsible; and therefore, the duty of the other Presidencies, with regard to such measures, consists in a cordial co-operation in the execution of that, which it is the peculiar province of the Governor-General in Council to determine. The Governor-General being in possession of the whole superintendence and control, as well as of the means of comprehending in one view the entire state of the Company's empire and trade, and of all the various considerations and circumstances which may affect either, must frequently issue instructions, the fundamental principles, and final scope of which cannot at first sight be fully understood by the other Presidencies. In such cases, (as well, indeed, as in any of those already described,) I am per-

suaded that your Lordship will concur with me in thinking that the duty of the other Presidencies can never be to mix direct or indirect censures with their formal obedience to the legal authority of the Governor-General in Council, still less can it be their duty to anticipate his decisions, by the premature interposition of their opinions and advice in any quarter where such interference may counteract the success of his general plans, and may introduce all the mischiefs and confusion of divided councils and of conflicting authority. The examination of the records of the late Government of Fort St. George, will manifest to your Lordship a constant tendency towards this fatal error; and even since my arrival in Bengal, I have found it necessary to restrain the symptoms of the same disposition in two instances: the one, a letter written to Admiral Rainier, without any previous concert with me, suggesting a plan of operation for his Majesty's squadron, entirely incompatible with my views for the general protection of our possessions; the other, a letter to me in council, containing both direct and indirect censures of the orders which I have lately issued for assembling the army on the Coast, a measure indispensably necessary, and founded on a variety of reasons, of which the Government of Fort St. George could not at that time comprehend either the nature or extent.

"Under your Lordship's administration, I am confident that no such embarrassment can ever occur. With the same freedom which I have used throughout this letter, I will state to you distinctly the mode in which I propose to conduct the intercourse between the two Governments, with a view to secure their cordial co-operation, and to preclude the possibility of distraction. Every endeavour shall be used on my part to communicate to your Lordship the fullest and earliest intelligence of the nature and object of any measure which I may have in contemplation, either

with relation to your particular Government, or to the general interests of the whole British Empire in India. These communications will be made to your Lordship through the channel of my private correspondence. On the other hand, I make it my earnest request to your Lordship, that whenever any such communication shall be delayed, you will attribute the delay either to the absolute necessity of the case, or to my views of the public service, and that you will, therefore, have the goodness to prevent the Government of Fort St. George from proceeding to take any steps upon matters belonging to my exclusive responsibility, without a full previous communication with me, and without being apprized of my concurrence. In your Lordship's private correspondence, I trust that your Lordship will permit me to hope for the advantage of your unreserved opinion, not only with respect to all matters within your own peculiar charge, but to any point which you may think essential to the general interests of the British Empire in India, and I assure your Lordship most sincerely, that I shall always receive your private suggestions as personal favours. In regulating your public correspondence, I request that your Lordship will advert to the suggestions contained in this letter, and that you will exclude from the public records every indication of jealousy and counteraction. On my part, you will always find a sincere disposition in every transaction, both public and private, to consider your Lordship's authority as a part of my own, and to repel every attempt to disunite the two Governments.

"By these means, I flatter myself that I may be enabled to contribute effectual assistance to your Lordship in promoting those important interests, in the prosperity of which you must feel a natural and hereditary concern. It would give me great satisfaction to have the honour of a

personal interview with you in the early period of your government; such an event would greatly contribute to forward the public service. Perhaps your Lordship may feel a disposition to visit Plassey during the approaching cold season in Bengal; if you should find yourself at leisure to make such an expedition, I can assure your Lordship that you will be received here by the whole settlement, and by myself, with the marks of distinction and respect to which you are on every account entitled, and that you will find in the mind of all those entrusted with the administration of these opulent and flourishing provinces, a grateful remembrance of the exertions to which the Company is indebted for this valuable possession.

"This letter has been copied from my original draft by my brother*, who is my private secretary. I would not entrust a paper of so confidential and secret a nature to any other hand.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient
and faithful servant,
MORNINGTON."

No. II.

(See page 150.)

PARTICULARS RESPECTING MR. COCKBURN.

I have noticed in this Memoir (page 238), that Mr. Thomas Cockburn stood nearly alone at Madras in the year 1798, in his cordial approval of Lord Mornington's bold and masterly policy from the moment it was unfolded to

* Mr. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Ambassador in Spain, and now Lord Cowley.

him, and that he rendered every aid in his power to General Harris by his comprehensive knowledge and animated example.

I was at that period not only private secretary to General Harris, but also Secretary to the Board of Revenue, of which Mr. Cockburn was the most distinguished member, and thence I became the willing channel of conveying to General Harris some of those valuable suggestions which confirmed his opinion that Mr. Cockburn was the best informed man in India upon the means of equipping our army for the approaching campaign*. In the discharge of his duties as Commissary-General in the preceding war with Tippoo, and in the re-equipment of Lord Cornwallis's army during the monsoon, Mr. Cockburn had shown that no dangers or difficulties could impede the progress of his able and successful labours for the public good; and it was under this conviction that Lord Cornwallis thus acknowledged the value of his services:—

"To Thomas Cockburn, Esq., from Colonel Ross, Secretary to Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

"20*th November*, 1791.

"I have much satisfaction in assuring you that every part of Lord Cornwallis's expectations regarding our re-equipment, and that had dependence on your exertions, are likely to be fulfilled to his entire satisfaction. No man can possibly entertain a higher sense of your zeal and exertions than his Lordship does, and while he sets a just estimate on your services to the public, I am persuaded he is not without feeling a considerable share of personal obligation to you for them.

Alexander Ross."

* See his letter to the Earl of Mornington, page 150.

"*Whitehall, 15th March*, 1798.

"Dear Sir,

"I have mentioned to Lord Clive my sense of your merit and abilities, and the slender rewards with which they have been hitherto attended, and I pointed you out as a person who deserved his confidence. His Lordship can only be induced by the most laudable motives to undertake the government, but he has not been accustomed to business and to manage great affairs. He will, therefore, require encouragement to undertake new modes of governing the long neglected country over which we have an undisputed power, to enter into voluminous details, and to encounter the difficulties which will be magnified by the ill-designing, the prejudiced, and the indolent.

"I am, with great esteem and very sincere good wishes,

Yours, &c., &c.,

"*Thomas Cockburn, Esq.*" CORNWALLIS."

The abilities of such a person as Mr. Cockburn were not likely to escape the observation of Colonel Wellesley. Whilst the preparations for the attack upon Tippoo were were going on at Madras they were in constant communication; and one day, whilst sitting at the Revenue Board, Mr. Cockburn received a note from Colonel Wellesley, stating that Sir Alured Clarke's baggage was ordered on board to proceed to Madras. On the same day General Harris received the following letter from Lord Mornington:—

"*Fort William, December* 5, 1798.

"My dear General,

"I return you many thanks for your kind congratulations on the late event at Hyderabad, from which I hope to be able to derive considerable advantage to the public service. My sentiments with regard to your conduct in the

late crisis are expressed in the enclosed extracts, of which the originals are gone home by the 'Eurydice,' and overland. Your last public letters to me in council, on the subject of your state of preparation, gave me great pleasure: persevere, and advance all you can towards the frontier as rapidly as possible. Depend on my word, you have no chance of peace or security without such measures as shall convince our enemies that we do not fear them. The times do not admit of languid counsels; we must be as bold and active as our enemy, unless we intend to submit to him,—a disgrace which you would not brook, if I know you.

"I am highly satisfied with Lord Clive's honour, alacrity, and zeal; and I hope we shall be able to bring the ship up, notwithstanding all appearances. I have not yet been able to give full consideration to your Minute respecting the permanent plan for the defence of the Carnatic. You seem to wish so much for the assistance of Sir Alured (an excellent man), that I have determined to spare him from hence, although with great reluctance. Zemaun Shah menaces the north-western frontier. We have no positive accounts of his having yet crossed the Attock, but all reports concur in stating the probability of his entering the Punjaub this season. We have a good army under Sir James Craig at Oude.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully, with great regard and esteem,

MORNINGTON."

To General Harris the information that Sir Alured Clarke would command the expedition, was a great relief; but he still earnestly hoped, as he had urgently recommended, that the Noble Earl would himself come to Madras. Colonel Wellesley and Mr. Cockburn were of opinion also that nothing but the presence and influence of the Governor-

General could restore the public credit, and overcome the difficulties to be encountered in the war which they thought inevitable, and the Colonel stated this in an able letter which he wrote to the Earl at Mr. Cockburn's desk. The letter was sent off express, and the immediate result was, that Sir Alured Clarke's baggage was ordered on shore, and his Lordship's put on board for Madras, where he quickly arrived, having left Sir Alured at Calcutta in charge of the government, and to watch the ulterior proceedings of Zemaun Shah.

I have transcribed this letter, and related this important fact because it is one amongst the many instances of that promptitude and vigour which distinguished the conduct of the Noble Earl, and of those who acted in cordial execution of his enlightened policy on that great occasion.

From the day of the Earl's arrival at Madras, the word difficulty was little heard; all heads and hearts soon worked for the great object in view, the due equipment and supply of the army, and none more efficiently than Mr. Cockburn.

Upon his return to England, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the final settlement of the claims of the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot, upon the Revenues of the Carnatic, and a more honourable or useful choice could not have been made. The extraordinary result of the labours of that Commission was thus reported to Parliament.

Number of claims preferred before the Commissioners and reported to Parliament	. . .		4,562
Aggregate amount claimed	£30,404,919	1	3½
Of this amount the Commissioners allowed and established	2,686,148	12	8¾
Amount disallowed and rejected by the Commission	£27,718,770	1	6¾

It is not to be supposed that the parties against whom the decisions of the Commissioners passed would in all

cases cheerfully acquiesce therein, considering the enormous sum of the rejected claims, but it is a singular circumstance, that no attempt was made, in any instance, to call their adjudications into question. Their last report to Parliament thus concluded:—"In closing an inquiry necessarily often protracted by circumstances not within our control, which we have sometimes stated in our progressive reports to this Honourable House, and which must always attend intricate and extensive investigations into subjects remote, in time and place, and in the greater proportion involving the interests of the Natives of India, we have reason to believe that the patient investigation, the last results of which we now communicate, has not deprived any one claimant of his least right under those terms of inquiry, to which, by signing the deed of covenants, he had himself agreed; whilst, as to some of the cases rejected, it has defeated the most iniquitous combinations of fraud, which were ever submitted to a legal tribunal." This report is signed by the honourable names of Benjamin Hobhouse, Thomas Cockburn, and Robert Harry Inglis.

No. III.

(See pages 182 and 240.)

Letter of Colonel Wellesley, respecting the French Prisoners at Madras.

(Private.)

"*Fort St. George, October* 3, 1798.

"My dear Sir,

"I consider that sending away the prisoners is an object of the greatest consequence; that an opportunity so good will not offer again for some time, and therefore that there is nothing which so well deserves your attention and exertion. Lord Clive has spoken to me upon the subject,

and seems very anxious to send them away; but the difficulties of clearing and preparing the *Osterly* have been misrepresented and magnified. It was reported to him that ——— said she could not be ready till the 26th; and ——— told me that she could be ready by the 20th; and you know that when the labouring oar is to fall upon him, he is not over sanguine. I wish you would have some inquiries made into this business—at all events, press Lord C. (as I have) to endeavour to have the *Osterly* got ready.

"If the fleet should be detained two or three days beyond the usual time, it is better than that the prisoners should stay. The advantage of sending them away is seen by those whose aim one would almost believe to be, to throw impediments in the way of everything that is to be done for the public service at the present moment, and accordingly endeavours are made to prevent the possibility of their going.

Believe me, my dear Sir,
Ever yours, most faithfully,
ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

"*Lieutenant-General Harris,*
&c., &c., &c."

No. IV.

(See page 242.)

LETTERS FROM JOSIAH WEBBE, ESQ.

"*Fort St. George, August* 6, 1801.

"Dear Lushington,

"When I received your first letter, I was so much engaged in public business, that I had not leisure to answer it. I have now the pleasure of informing you that I

immediately communicated to Lord Clive the arrangements you had made for bringing the province of Tinnevelly under your authority. Your reasons for anticipating the public order are entirely satisfactory to his Lordship; and he desires me to express to you his entire approbation of your zealous attention to the tranquillity of the country, and to the immediate interests of the Company.

"By this time you will probably have received the official orders transmitted by express on the 31st ult., for the purpose of rescuing the country from the charge of the late Nabob's officers; and Lord Clive considers the disposition evinced by the people of Tinnevelly to prognosticate the early restoration of that fertile province to wealth and prosperity under your superintendence.

Yours truly,

J. Webbe."

"*S. Lushington, Esq.*"

"*Fort St. George, October* 31, 1802.

"Dear Lushington,

"I have received both your letters of the 20th instant, of which I have communicated that intended by you to be shown to Lord Clive. His Lordship, like every other person acquainted with your services in Tinnevelly, will regret your departure, at a time when knowledge and zeal are so necessary as at present, to the great interests of this Government. For myself, I assure you with sincerity that I feel for the necessity which compels you to go hence; for, independently of the considerations which attach to the health of yourself and of Mrs. Lushington, the manner in which you have discharged your duties at Tinnevelly is (as far as my judgment goes) such as to render your departure a great loss to the public service.

"If your health should continue to require your return to England, Lord Clive will, of course, be ready to accept

your resignation whenever it may be most convenient to yourself. With regard to your commission, you know that the most favourable interpretation has been always given to such claims by his Lordship. The principle on which the restriction is founded is, in my judgment, extremely false, and has, wherever my voice has had weight, been uniformly superseded; but some difficulty, I apprehend, will occur, founded on the statute, which it may not be easy to remove. Lord Clive, however, feels the best disposition to meet your wishes; and if it should not be competent for him to decide in your favour, will, I have no doubt, give you a strong recommendation to the Court of Directors. Yours, sincerely,

J. WEBBE."

"*S. Lushington, Esq.*"

"*Sunday.*

"Dear Lushington,

"I have read your report with great attention, and think that the ability and care with which it is drawn leave very little for the Commission to add to the points you have recommended. As soon as you send it in, I shall be prepared to report my opinion; and I request that you will do it soon, as I wish to be relieved from the duties of the Special Commission.

"I am not quite satisfied about Shevagunga; but it may be better to settle it than postpone it.

Yours truly,

J. WEBBE."

EPITAPH ON MR. WEBBE.

TO THE MEMORY OF JOSIAH WEBBE, Esq.,
For some years Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, and afterwards Resident at the Court of Scindi,
Where he died 9th day of November, 1804, aged 37.

His mind, by Nature firm, lofty, and energetic,
Was formed by Classic Study,
To a tone of Independence and Patriotism,
Not unworthy
The best days of Greece and Rome.

Disdaining the little arts of private influence,
Or of vulgar popularity,
And erect in conscious Integrity,
He rested his claims to Public Honours
On Public Merit.

An extensive knowledge of the Eastern languages forwarded
his rise to stations of high trust,
Where his ambition was fired to exalt
The honour and interests of his Country,
And during an eventful period
Of its Indian History,
His Services were crowned with important success.

In the midst of a career,
Thus honourable and distinguished,
He was cut off by sickness
In the prime of Life;
Beloved with fervour by his Friends,
Regretted by his Rulers,
And admired by all.
Reader!
Emulate his Worth;
And midst the pursuits of this world,
Prepare
To meet a call as sudden, to the next.

No. V.

(See page 244.)

Colonel Wellesley's Letter respecting the 25th Light Dragoons, under Colonel Cotton*.

"*Arcot, December* 27, 1798.

"I have been out this morning to see the 25th Light Dragoons, and I think I never saw a finer regiment of

* Now Viscount Combermere.

Dragoons in my life. It is a pity that they are not all mounted. Cotton only wants forty horses to be able to bring into the field 400 men; and as the two Regiments of Native Cavalry which are here have more horses than they have men to ride them, I should think that it would be better to give their supernumerary horses, which are trained, than any of the young horses which may come from Hyderabad or the Malabar Coast."

No. VI.

(See page 264.)

Declaration of the Allies, and other Papers relating to the War against Tippoo Sultaun.

The following letters and papers are referred to in this Memoir, as if contained in the Appendix. But the Postscript has materially increased the size of the volume, and it is therefore thought more convenient to refer to books already published, in which these documents are to be found.

Lord Mornington to General Harris, 22nd February, 1799—Wellesley's *Despatches*, p. 442.

The Declaration of the Allies against Tippoo Sultaun, 22nd February, 1799—*Ibid.*, p. 448.

Lord Mornington's Letter to Tippoo Sultaun, 22nd February, 1799—*Ibid.*, p. 453.

The two last documents are also printed in Wellington's *Despatches*, vol. i., pp. 9—20; and in Beatson's *Narrative*, Nos. XV. and XVI. of the Appendix.

No. VII.

(See page 263.)

Sketch of the Action at Mallavelly, March 27, 1799.

REFERENCES.

Red, denotes the 1st position of the English Army.

Blue, the 2nd ditto.

Purple, the 3rd ditto.

Yellow, Tippoo's, the 1st ditto.

Green, the 2nd ditto.

Orange, shows the Encampment of the Army after the action.

A. A large body of the Enemy's Horse kept in check by the 25th Regiment of Light Dragoons.

B. A party of the Horse and Rocket Boys driven off by the Picquet.

C. A small party of the Enemy's Horse charging the 1st, or European Brigade, and repulsed.

D. The 2nd Regiment of Cavalry advancing to charge, but halted on the European Brigade beginning to fire.

E. A large body of the Enemy which retreated on the party *C* being repulsed.

F. A party of the Enemy's Infantry engaged with the left of the European Brigade, and obliged to retreat.

G. Another party that attacked the 33rd Regiment, the head of Colonel Wellesley's division.

H. Retreat of the party *G* charged by the 33rd Regiment.

I. Charge of three Regiments of Cavalry, under General Floyd, on the Fugitives *H.*

K. Two brass 18-pounders on a high spot, cannonading the Enemy while the Line formed.

L. Ditto advanced to some commanding rocks, from which they opened on the Enemy as the Line advanced.

No. VIII.

(See page 286.)

THE MARCHES OF THE ARMY UNDER THE COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL HARRIS, FROM VELLORE TO SERINGAPATAM.

Date.		M.	F.
Feb. 11.	From Vellore to Laulgerry .	3	0
14.	North of Policanda . .	7	0
16.	Goriatum	9	0
17.	East of Amboor . . .	10	0
19.	South of Amboor . .	5	0
22.	Vaniambady	10	0
24.	Tripatore	13	0
25.	Cocknagerry	9	2
26.	Muttoor	5	5
27.	Baroor	10	8
28.	Carramungalum . . .	8	0
Mar. 2.	Paulcode	10	0
3.	Maranhelly . . .	8	4
4.	Ryacottah	9	0
6.	Neeldroog	9	0
7.	Kellamungalum . . .	7	0
10.	Collakondapilly . . .	10	0
12.	Arragudda	11	3
14.	Catagerapetty . . .	10	5
16.	Cagliporam	9	7
17.	Somanapilly	4	0
19.	Arravelly	5	0
20.	Jagganelly . . .	4	0
21.	Kankanelly . . .	8	0
22.	Achel	6	4
23.	Sultanpett	9	6
24.	Banks of the Madoor River.	3	7

Date.		M.	F.
Mar. 26.	Basuwanpooram . . .	4	4
27.	Mallavelly . . .	5	7
28.	Angurapooram . . .	3	7
29.	Sosilly	12	0
30.	Yedatory	1	5
April 1.	Rungasamoodrum . .	6	2
2.	Heeravanelly . . .	5	0
3.	Anthanelly . . .	3	6
4.	Nova Shaher . . .	7	6
5.	Seringapatam . . .	3	0

No. IX.

(See page 287.)

MEMORANDUM ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DRAFT BULLOCKS AND THE BREEDING ESTABLISHMENT IN MYSORE. BY COLONEL M. CUBBON.

The Establishment of Draft Bullocks belonging to Tippoo Sultaun was delivered up to General Lord Harris after the capture of Seringapatam, and, in consideration of their immense superiority over all other cattle in the south of India for military purposes, it was determined, on his recommendation, to maintain them on their original footing for the service of the British Government. Lord Harris had witnessed, with deep anxiety, the wretched inefficiency of the equipments of his own army; and to his protection of the establishment, which had then fallen into his hands, may be attributed, on the authority of the Duke of Wellington, much of the success which afterwards attended the British arms in India.

It was this establishment which enabled Hyder Aly to march one hundred miles in two days and a-half, to the

relief of Chillumbrum, and after every defeat to draw off his guns in face of his enemies; which enabled Tippoo Sultaun to cross the Peninsula in one month for the recovery of Bednore, and to march sixty-three miles in two days before General Medows; which, in later times, enabled Major-General Pritzler to march 346 miles in twenty-five days in pursuit of the Peshwah; and which enabled Major-General Campbell, after the failure of his Bengal equipments, to advance upon Ava, and bring the war to a favourable termination. It was also this establishment which enabled the Duke of Wellington to execute those movements of unexampled rapidity which are the admiration of every military man, and in consideration of whose services he recommended it to protection in the following letter, addressed at the close of the war to the Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Stuart:—

"*Fort St. George, August* 2, 1804.

"It must be recollected that, in former wars, the utmost exertion which it was possible for the army to make, was to draw its train of artillery to Seringapatam. It was not possible, and never was expected, that the guns and carriages which were drawn there should be brought away again, and accordingly, notwithstanding the undoubted talents and the great reputation of the officers who have at different times led British armies to that place, it has invariably happened that by far the greatest part of the train and carriages have been left behind when the army marched away. They who have seen the mode in which those armies made their marches, and were acquainted with the system under which cattle were, and must necessarily be, procured for the service, will not hesitate to allow that the slowness of all our operations, and the necessity to which I have alluded, of leaving our guns after they had been drawn

about 300 miles, were to be attributed entirely to the faults of the system under which the cattle were procured for the service.

"But although I am addressing myself to an officer whose experience reaches beyond the times to which I have alluded, it is only necessary that I should advert, in proof of my assertion, to the circumstances of the late war. From a variety of causes it was necessary, at the commencement of the war, to hire cattle to draw the train from Madras to the frontiers of Mysore; and you will recollect the difficulties under which you laboured, and that, in fact, you could not have brought your carriages to the frontier without the assistance of the public cattle which you called to join you, and that if the circumstances of the times had required that the whole army should advance to Poonah, you would probably have thought it proper to take with you only those carriages for which you might have had a sufficient number of the public draft cattle. All the carriages attached to the divisions under my command were drawn by public cattle; and I will advert to a few facts, to point out the difference between this part of the equipment of the troops in late and former wars.

"We marched to Poonah from Seringapatam, the distance being nearly 600 miles, in the worst season of the year, through a country which had been destroyed by Holkar's army, with heavy guns, at the rate upon an average of thirteen and a-half miles a day, and if the twelve days which we halted on the Toombudra for orders be excluded, we arrived at Poonah in two months from the time we marched. On this march we lost no draft cattle. I remained in the neighbourhood of Poonah, in a country which deserves the name of a desert, for six weeks, and then marched again with the train in the same state as to numbers as when it left Seringapatam, and the troops and

cattle were in the field during the monsoon. It is needless to advert to the distance marched during the war, or to recapitulate its events, all of which must show the efficient state of the equipments; but it has frequently been necessary for the troops to march for many days together a distance amounting to fifteen miles a day; the heavy artillery always accompanied them, and I always found that the cattle could go as far as the troops. Upon one occasion I found it necessary to march a detachment sixty miles in thirty hours, and the ordnance and provision carriages drawn by the Company's bullocks accompanied this detachment.

"Instead of being obliged, as the Commanders-in-Chief of armies in former wars have been, to leave guns and carriages behind, such was the state of efficiency of this department thoughout this severe service, that I was able, but with little assistance, to draw away the guns which the troops took. After all this service, in which so many countries have been marched over, the number of cattle which have died is, I believe, not greater than it would have been at the grazing ground, and the department is at this moment in a state of great efficiency.

"It would not be difficult to prove that, in point of actual expense, this establishment is cheaper to the public than the hire of cattle in the old mode, but the consideration respecting a public establishment of this description is not referable entirely to cheapness. It must be obvious to every man that, in a war such as the late war, there could be no success unless the officer commanding the the troops was able to move at all times with the utmost celerity of which the troops were capable, and to continue its movements as long as was necessary. Rapid movements with guns and carriages cannot be made without good cattle, well driven, and well taken care of; and without

adverting to what passed subsequently, it is more than probable that if I had the service only of such cattle as served Lord Cornwallis and General Harris in former wars, I should never have reached Poonah, or should have been obliged to find my way back without the wheel carriages in the best manner I could.

"I therefore take the liberty of recommending this establishment of cattle to your protection. It is founded upon the most efficient and most economical principles, and will never fail the army as long as it is superintended and conducted as it has been hitherto."

It was the want of such an establishment which, in former times, crippled all Sir Eyre Coote's operations, and kept him frequently inactive, and incapable of profiting by his victories, and which made him declare, after the battle of Cuddalore, "If Hyder Aly, buoyed up with former success, had not come to seek us, I could not have moved the army to follow him, and this is a situation so trying to the responsible military commander, that an officer of character shudders at the idea of being placed in such a predicament."

The want of such an establishment was also severely felt by Lord Cornwallis, when he was obliged to employ his troops in dragging his guns to Seringapatam, and, finally, to abandon them, and all his heavy equipments; it was also felt by General Lord Harris, though in an inferior degree; and to a state of great, though perhaps not equal, inefficiency, we might still be reduced without the aid of this establishment.

The establishment at present is fixed at thirty-seven karkanahs of 100 bullocks each, exclusive of nine karkanahs of cattle of a different description attached to the Hyderabad and Nagpoor Subsidiary Forces, and also exclusive of eight

karkanahs of 160 bullocks each attached to the Foot Artillery for the movement of light guns. The whole, if complete, would amount to 5,880 head of draft bullocks, but at this moment 898 are wanting to complete.

These cattle are placed, by the regulations of the Government, at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, and their distribution rests with him. The advantage of possessing such an establishment, in time of war, is beyond all calculation; the only objection to it, in time of peace, is its expense: but if it be possible, as heretofore, to employ these cattle, in time of peace, on services of a public nature, for which cattle must otherwise be hired, so as in a great measure to cover the expense of maintaining them, it may not, perhaps, be deemed advisable to reduce their number, or to impair in any way the efficiency of so powerful an instrument in the hands of Government. From 1811 to 1822 inclusive, the expense of maintaining this establishment, after deducting the value of its actual services at the ordinary rate of bullock-hire, averaged only 18,622 rupees annually; and had it not been for three years of war, during which a large portion of the cattle were employed in expensive situations, this balance against the establishment, small as it is, would have been still more reduced.

The cattle of this establishment are as different from all other Indian cattle as the Arab is from the country horse, and as superior to them, not merely in their blood and configuration, but their strength and energy, their quick step, power of endurance, and of keeping their condition under great privation. Heavier and larger cattle may be found, perhaps, better calculated for the slow movement of heavy ordnance, but none that can be compared to them in spirit and activity, that like them would make forced marches with troops, withstand all changes of wea-

ther, or be so fresh at the end of a campaign. This breed is peculiar to Mysore, and takes its name from the village of Hagglewaddy. Its origin is beyond tradition, but it has ever been in the hands of the ruling power, on account of its superior qualities.

The Breeding Establishment which supplies these cattle is divided into thirty-four herds, which are dispersed in various parts of Mysore* favourable to their subsistence. They are almost as wild as deer, and cannot be approached with safety without the protection of the herdsmen†; they roam at large over their pastures, comparatively unattended to, and subsist entirely on the grass of the waste lands, and a portion of the stubble, to which, from time immemorial, they have been entitled. They are frequently inspected and counted in their pastures, and assembled annually for general inspection, and in order to be branded by a process which it would be tedious to describe; the utmost attention is paid to the improvement of the breed, by reserving only the finest forms for bulls, and castrating all the other males at an early age, and the young bullocks are separated from the herds, when six years of age, taken in hand, and trained for work.

When the Draft Establishment was taken for the Company, it was suggested by Colonel Close that the

* One hundred and forty-three separate pastures of various extent belong to the establishment, for which a small quit-rent is annually paid to the Mysore Government.

† Establishment of Attendants allowed to 500 head of Cattle.

1 Sherwegar	Rupees	2	14	8
2 Moondals	„	2	0	8
10 Graziers	„	1	7	4
1 Nizumwallah	„	1	7	4
3 Kawulghars	„	1	7	4

These attendants are allowed certain privileges by the Mysore Government, and they are all exempted from some small taxes to which the rest of the population is liable.

Breeding Establishment should remain in the hands of the Mysore Rajah, and agreed to,—though the Government was not insensible to the disadvantage of transferring to a native Government the management of any part of the public equipments,—on condition, however, that means should be taken to increase the number of cattle, and that the produce should be fully applied to the benefit of the public service. It was probably imagined that the Dewan would pay as much attention to the establishment as the former Government had done, but on no good grounds; for Tippoo Sultaun depended upon it for the efficiency of his army, and the new Government could be actuated by no such motive. The consequence was, as might have been expected, the establishment was abandoned to the servants who had charge of it, and by them neglected and abused; the Government was disappointed in its expected supplies from that source, and the cattle were allowed to degenerate to such a degree, that after a period of thirteen years, it became necessary for Government to resume it, in order to preserve the breed from extinction.

10,914 head of breeding cattle were delivered over to the Mysore Government, in January, 1800, and in the end of 1813, the same number precisely was received back from the Mysore Government. During that long period there had been no increase of stock, and the calves supplied by the Breeding Establishment, in number 5,364, inferior and increasing in degeneracy as they notoriously were, cost the Government, when fit for the yoke, the enormous price of sixty-nine rupees a-head.

During the eleven years which have elapsed since the Breeding Establishment was placed under the management of the Commissariat, the stock has increased from 10,914 to 22,314 head of cattle, while 8,262 bullocks of an improved and improving description have been supplied for

the public service, at the average rate of thirty rupees each, which covers the whole expense of the establishment. The breed has been rescued from the destruction to which it was rapidly approaching, and from a better system of breeding it may be shortly expected even to surpass its former excellence. This is the great consideration, but even in point of saving, the advantage has been great, as the value of the increase of stock, and the difference between the present and the past price of the bullocks supplied to the public service since the transfer, may be estimated near four lacs of rupees.

M. C.

No. X.

(See page 312.)

Services of Sir James L. Lushington, G.C.B.

"Many of our young men complaining. James Lushington very ill in sick tope, when I imagined him gone with his corps to meet General Stuart. Had his tent pitched in the rear of mine."—General Harris's *Journal.*

This sick young officer, now Sir James L. Lushington, G.C.B., has since repaid the Commander-in-Chief for his kindness and protection, by doing his country good service.

"To the Honourable M. Elphinstone, Resident at Poonah.

"Sir, *Political Department.*

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 31st ultimo, enclosing a letter to your address from Major Lushington, reporting his proceedings with the corps of Light Cavalry under his command, in the pursuit and dispersion of a strong body of Pindaries.

"2. The promptitude with which Major Lushington proceeded in quest of the Pindaries, and his perseverance,

under the discouraging circumstances attending his outset, in prosecuting the pursuit during a march of sixty miles, and in following up his blow with such signal success for ten miles further, have attracted the particular notice of the Governor-General in Council, and are considered by his Lordship to reflect the highest credit on the activity, zeal and judgment of this officer, and on the spirit, energy and perseverance of the corps which he commands. The severe example which it has been Major Lushington's good fortune to make of this body of Pindaries, will, doubtless, be productive of the most salutary effect, both in checking the audacious spirit with which the Pindaries have overrun the territories of our allies, and even extended their ravages to our own dominions, and in satisfying the minds of those who have a claim on our protection, that sooner or later the whole of these organized bands of public robbers will meet, at the hands of the British Government, the punishment which is due to their atrocious barbarities and crimes.

"3. The Governor-General in Council deeply laments the loss sustained in Captain Darke, to whose gallantry and private worth Major Lushington has borne such honourable testimony. It will, however, be a source of consolation to his relatives and friends to reflect, that he fell in the discharge of his duty, setting a noble example of spirit and bravery to his companions in arms.

"4. You will be pleased to make known to Major Lushington the sentiments entertained by the Governor-General in Council, of the conduct of that officer, and the corps under his command, on the occasion to which this letter refers.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Geo. Swinton,

Deputy-Secretary to Government."

"*Fort William, 21st January,* 1817."

EXTRACT FROM GENERAL ORDERS BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"*Head Quarters, Choultry Plain,*
1st February, 1817.

"On the occasion of publishing to the Army the Government General Order of the 27th ultimo, his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief cannot refuse to himself the gratification of expressing his sentiments of applause and cordial approbation of the conduct of Major Lushington of the 4th Cavalry.

"The well-established fame and former services of the 4th Cavalry, were sufficient pledges of the confidence with which that distinguished regiment might be employed on any enterprize, but the indefatigable perseverance with which it persisted in its persuit of an enemy, whose rapidity of movement had hitherto eluded every other attempt to intercept or come up with him, stands unrivalled, and places the character and judgment of Major Lushington in the most flattering point of view, not only for the zeal and ability with which he profited by his intelligence and conducted his regiment, but for the spirit and decision with which he led his gallant soldiers into the midst of an enemy, by whose vast superiority of numbers he might have fairly expected to have had a formidable adversary to contend with.

"The Commander-in-Chief offers to Major Lushington of the 4th Cavalry his warmest acknowledgements, as well as to the officers and men of the regiment he commands, for their exemplary gallantry, zeal, and exertions.

"The congratulations of his Excellency would be as complete as they are sincere, did not the loss of so valuable and brave an officer as Captain Darke, mix with them the duty of here paying a just but melancholy tribute of respect

to his memory and services. He was killed in front of his standard, animating his men by an example they can never forgot.

(Signed) T. H. S. Conway,
Adjutant-General."

"*Commander-in-Chief's Office,*
"*Head Quarters, Calcutta, 8th March,* 1819.

"Sir,

"I am instructed by the Most Noble the Commander-in-Chief, to forward the accompanying pacquet, containing the Companions' Cross of the Order of the Bath, awarded you by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. In the performance of this pleasing duty, the Commander-in-Chief gladly embraces the opportunity offered him to convey his warm congratulations that your services should have been distinguished by so honourable and well merited a mark of his Royal Highness's approbation and favour.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) C. J. Doyle, Lieut.-Colonel,
"*Military Secretary.*"

"*To Major J. L. Lushington, C.B.,*
4th Madras Native Cavalry, Madras."

No. XI.

(See page 456.)

Letter from the Earl of Powis.

"*Berkeley Square, 1st July,* 1827.

"My dear Lushington,

"Your short, but most kind and affectionate letter from Brighton, inexpressibly affected me, and brought on a train of melancholy thoughts, when I feared I should not see you again, which your presence since did not dissipate,

nor have I sought to subdue. I grieve the loss I am about to sustain by my separation from you whose friendship and cordial attachment I have so long and uniformly possessed, and the interruption of that kindly and social intercourse between us, which has ever been so delightful to me, but which, at my years, I may not hope to see renewed. But let me not selfishly repine, but take the more satisfactory course of hailing the dispensation which places you in a station you are eminently suited to fill. Right-minded as you are, and deriving knowledge and experience from former residence and successful exertions in the country over which you are going to preside, I am sanguine in the success of your administration, and of the justness and wisdom of the measures you will adopt for the welfare and permanent good of a country which I love as I do my own. I am sanguine in the expectation and belief of your return in due time, and although I may not be one to greet your arrival, be assured, my latest wishes will be for your health and prosperity.

"I remain ever, my dear Lushington, with indelible remembrance of your kindness,

Most truly and faithfully yours,

POWIS."

"*The Right Honourable S. R. Lushington.*"

No. XII.

(See page 457.)

CONCLUSION OF GENERAL HARRIS'S APPEAL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

"*15th December*, 1804.

"Par. 43. In the narrative which I have thus given of the principal transactions connected with the prize-money of Seringapatam I have not sought to avoid detail,

but I have purposely studied to suppress those feelings which are inseparable from our nature when we meet with distrust and injury, where we have a claim to confidence and gratitude. That this claim is not suggested by an undue appreciation of my own conduct to the India Company, you, gentlemen, in professing 'a deep and grateful sense of my services,' have admitted, and I trust that without any appearance of arrogance, I may advance it, at a moment when I am defending my reputation and property, my own rights and those of the Army which I commanded. On such an occasion, I may be allowed to quote the last letter transmitted to me by the Government in India, at the close of those transactions which are now arraigned and condemned.

"Copy of a letter* from the Secretary to the Governor-General, to Lieutenant-General George Harris, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Army before Seringapatam, dated 7th August, 1799.

"44. With these claims to the notice of the East India Company, I may be permitted to prefer a request to the Court of Directors.

"45. If after perusing this address, it shall appear to you that the Despatch to the Government at Fort St. George has been framed upon an erroneous conception of the transactions to which it relates; if it shall appear established that the allotment of the prize-money was made under the sanction of a legal authority; if it shall appear to be proved that the local usages which had governed every distribution of prize to a land force, acting alone, or in alliance with a Native State, from the earliest memory of British victories in India, were adopted by the Governor-General's orders, as the guide for distribution at Seringapatam; if, as I apprehend, all these, the essential points of this discussion,

* See page 387 of this Memoir.

shall appear clearly established, then I trust to the candour of the Court of Directors to correct the error into which they have been betrayed, and to render justice to the Army, to the officers who served under me, and to myself.

"46. In the name of the Army I may be allowed to hope that they will not be deprived of a portion of the prize-money intended for them by the King, to pay an interest upon the neglected claims of Colonel Browne and Read's Detachment, but that you will examine how far that delay is imputable to the neglect of your own decision upon them.

"47. In behalf of the officers who shared with me the duties of the campaign, and whose courage and achievements in the field are not more distinguished than their exact subordination and honourable principles in peace, I must express an anxious wish that their fame be no longer sullied by an accusation of rapacity.

"48. With respect to myself, I seek the correction of those errors which have accumulated censure where approbation was due, and which the Board of Control have adopted, presuming upon the correctness of your official statements. I ask also for the just reservation of my rightful share in the second distribution of prize-money, and protest against any division contrary to his Majesty's grant.

"49. In closing this address, I have to request that a copy of it may be transmitted (by the first ship that may sail for India) to the Government of Fort St. George and the Governor-General of India, for to be continued in the esteem and approbation of that illustrious nobleman, the Marquis Wellesley, whose splendid services to the British Empire in India, will ever be recorded in the remembrance of his grateful country, can never cease to be the object of my deepest solicitude.

"I beg leave also to request that a copy of this address

may be submitted to the Board of Control, with a view to obliterate those unfavourable sentiments which your proceedings cannot but have excited in regard to the appropriation and division of the Seringapatam Prize; and which have apparently estranged the gracious favour of a just Sovereign from all the officers who shared with me, on the plains of Seringapatam, in the glory and triumph of his Majesty's arms.

GEORGE HARRIS."

No. XIII.

(See page 464.)

EPITAPH ON CAPTAIN CHARLES HARRIS.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
THE HONOURABLE CHARLES HARRIS,
Third Son of The Lord Harris,
And Captain in H. M. 85th Regiment of Light Infantry.
After serving in two triumphant Campaigns in Spain,
Under the Duke of Wellington,
He fell in the midst of the Enemy, when the Americans
Attacked the British Lines near New Orleans,
On the 23rd of December, 1814,
At the early Age of Twenty-one Years.

As some fair flower when early spring appears,
Its blossom to the parent sunbeam rears,
And gathering life and strength diffuses far,
Its balmy sweetness o'er the desert air;
Should the rude storm arise with furious gust,
And prostrate all its beauties in the dust,
Despite of chilling blasts and beating rains,
The memory of its fragrance still remains.
So gallant Harris, to his lineage true,
From the same fount his life and virtues drew.
His great example was a father's name,
His proudest wish to emulate his fame.
Fired with the hope he crossed the Atlantic wave,
But found amidst the foe a soldier's grave.

His grave though distant, on New Orleans' plain
The memory of his virtues here remains.
That grave of glory! there Britannia kneels,
And weeping pours the tender griefs she feels,
Yet feels exulting: for her soldier's bier
Is still the shield of every blessing here;
Points where his soul by grace divine is given
To meet his Saviour in the realms of Heaven.
Check, then, that sigh, and dry that pious tear,
Ye sorrowing parents of a child so dear.
In Britain's cause he led the heroic band,
And grasped the laurel with his dying hand.

No. XIV.

(See page 466.)

Letter from Lord Bloomfield.

"*Carlton House, October 29th*, 1819.

"My Lord,

"It is peculiarly gratifying to the Prince Regent to be enabled, by the introduction of a temporary clause into the Statutes of the Military Order of the Bath, to mark, in an especial manner, your Lordship's long, most distinguished, and faithful services, by creating your Lordship a Knight Grand Cross of that Order. A formal notification of the time when your Lordship is to be invested, will be made to you, until which notification this will be received as a confidential intimation of his Royal Highness's gracious intention towards your Lordship in testimony of his high consideration and regard.

"It is most grateful to my feelings to be the channel of this communication; and with great respect,

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and obedient humble servant,

B. Bloomfield."

"*General The Lord Harris.*"

No. XV.

(See page 467.)

Lord Harris's Directions for his Funeral.

"*Good Friday*, 10 P.M. *April*, 1825.

"This being recorded as the day when our Saviour ceased to be God and man, let me humble myself, and beg that the Holy Spirit may be allowed to direct and guide my heart in all things, but most particularly to a true feeling of the blessing thus offered to us. May I be enabled to see the nothingness of the wisest of mankind without the assistance of thy Holy Spirit, O Almighty God! And may I be enabled to rejoice in my call, whenever it shall please Thee to take me from this world, the pomps and vanities of which, through thy mercy, are fast losing their hold of the flesh, and I humbly trust that I shall be found rejoicing when about to be delivered of their burden. It is still my request that my funeral may be conducted as described in two papers, wrote 18th March, 1823, my birthday, and 5th August, 1824, and now inclosed, but which papers I shall probably correct and write fair, and only write these hasty lines, that sudden death may not prevent its being known that my request is still the same.

"Directions for my Interment.

"*March* 18, 1823.

"As I have, thanks to Almighty Providence, been enabled to go (I hope thankfully, and generally cheerfully) through a long and active scene in this world, and if my relations and connexions are satisfied my endeavours have been to humble myself before my Creator, and generally to endeavour to do as I would be done by, and that they have no cause to suppose but that my motives have been merci-

fully received where only motives can be known, then why put on sackcloth and ashes, or rather why put on the appearance of grief for me?

"Let decency and proper regard to worldly customs be preserved; let all the rest be cheerful, but without ostentation or waste of any kind.

"To promote ease and enjoyment for a few hours, and encourage the whole of my farming and gardening labourers to go cheerfully about their labours afterwards, it is my request and desire that they may carry my body to its fellow earth, in a plain oak coffin made of the oaks to be cut down in April, 1823; that they shall each have a scarf of three and a-half yards of linen made up at Murton's, so that it may make a good shirt afterwards; that they shall have double the allowance of mutton and ale they have generally received on Christmas-day, with a sovereign to each family that has children, and half a sovereign to those that have none, and a holyday the day chosen for my burial, having it understood that necessary labour must be done, but paid their regular pay, or, in my opinion, it can be no holyday at all.

"The number of such days with the Roman Catholics, is one amongst my objections to their mode of faith, or rather to sharing power with them. The consequence of such holydays is generally poverty and idleness where the Roman Catholic religion prevails:—witness poor Ireland, for one example!"

"*Friday Evening, July* 30, 1824.

"Tired, and rather oppressed with the several objects which have come all together at this period to be attended to, let me relax, and turn to that moment when all worldly concerns shall be as nothing! Whenever it may please the Almighty that this event (awful to all mankind) shall happen to me, a sinner, it is my wish that all pomp and

show may be avoided at my interment. That my body may be carried to its long home by the farm servants and the labourers in the garden and on the farm, under the guidance of the bailiff and gardener, with my carpenter to assist them. The latter has received my directions for my coffin to be made of oak felled on the estate, and the planks of which have been some time seasoning for the purpose.

" List of the labourers whom I request to become my body-guard, when it can no longer guard itself; and may they continue faithful servants to the master I leave over them, and may he deserve their honest endeavours by his kindness to, and protection of them."

"*August* 5, 1824

" I leave to John Stickens, bailiff, William Davis, gardener, and William Mutton, carpenter, fifty pounds each instead of mourning, as a small token of my approbation of their services. Mourning I am aware they are provided with, and may appear in at my funeral; but it is my request that the ceremony may take place in the forenoon, and no *black work* of any kind, or hired carriage to be provided. It is my sincere wish that in this simple style my bodily remains may be conveyed to their mother earth without parade, or any idle pageantry of woe, seldom heart-felt, and which certainly can be of no avail when all worldly things are known as vanity. So good night, I go to my rest at twelve, and resign myself with comfort to the will of my Creator. God bless ye all,

HARRIS."

" Wrote in haste, but long reflected on. So in good will and charity with all mankind, I humbly hope my sins may be forgiven, and that I may be enabled to amend for the rest of my life.

"To be wrote fair if time allowed.

"This paper scratched and corrected 11th February, 1827.

HARRIS."

No. XVI.

(See page 469.)

EPITAPH ON J. S. LUSHINGTON, ESQ.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
JAMES STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, ESQ.,
Of the Bengal Civil Service,
Who died September 12th, 1832,
At the early age of 28 years,
Second Son of
The Right Honourable S. R. Lushington, M.P.,
Late Governor of Madras;
And of Anne Elizabeth, eldest daughter of
George Lord Harris.
Distinguished on his first arrival in India
By superior talents and acquirements,
And passing with rapid success
Through his studies in the College of Fort William,
He gave early promise
Of that intellectual and moral worth
Which is recorded with admiring friendship
By the pious and accomplished Heber;
And which his short but brilliant career
In this Presidency developed and matured.
As the Private Secretary of the Governor
He acquired by his impartial courtesy
The esteem of every branch of the Public Service;
While his manly virtues and endearing qualities
Secured the approbation, and realised the hopes
Of his affectionate and bereaved Father.

This Monument is erected
By the Society which he adorned,
As a just tribute to his departed excellence.

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on 15 October, 2018